[Most of the information on propitiation, which forms a major portion of Aztec ceremonies, will be found in category 796]

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At one place they split up; at another they sacrificed three individuals, according to the prescribed ritual of opening up the stomach and tearing out the heart; and at a third place they learned how to make pulque.

Their records make little reference to the tribes already in the Valley, and their own entrance was relatively unnoticed by the others. However, the hieroglyph of Tenozomoc in one manuscript suggests the obvious conclusion that they had to have Tepanec permission to pass through Azcapotzalco and settle at Chapultepec, where the beautiful park now is. Here they remained happily for nearly a generation. Their neighbors seem to have been small but growing communities, so that conflict was inevitable. The Tenochcas began the strife because their young men went up the lake to Tenayuca to raid and steal wives, a common North American Indian method of gaining prestige. Their more powerful neighbors became irritated and made up a punitive expedition in which Tepanecs, Culhuas and Xochimilcas took part. The result was horrid: the Tenochca chief Huitzilhuitl* and most of the tribe had to go to Culhuacan territory to dwell in serfdom, while the rest escaped to the lake where some low-lying islands offered refuge. The main body stayed in Tizapan,† near the present San Angel, where they were under the eye of Concox,‡ the chief of Culhuacan. The Tenochcas detested the waste which was barren in all except poisonous snakes and insects. Huitzilopochtli they still enshrined, but his worth had sunk so low that the Culhuas came to mock him at his shrine and toss nameless filth into the temple.*

Finally, however, the tide turned. Concox became involved in a war with Xochimilco and called upon his vassals to aid him. When the Tenochcas reached the field of battle

*Wa-tsu'-i-weel. †Tis-sa-pa'n. ‡Cosh-cosh.

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His later years were weighted with trouble with Tenochtitlan. He had married a sister of Montezuma II and, as she was unduly free in granting favors to the young men of the court, in 1498 he took advantage of his legal right to kill her. The Tenochcas took this act as a gross personal affront and directed every effort, short of war, to overcoming their ancient ally.[11]

Axayacatl of Tenochtitlan died in 1479, while Nezahualpilli was young in his rule, and his brother Tizoc, who had previously been the war chief, took his place. Tizoc's most important act of office was to begin the reconstruction of the great temple to Huitzilopochtli, the War God, and Tlaloc, the Rain God. In commemoration of his conquests he also had carved the so-called Sacrificial Stone. This monstrous-sized vessel for burning human hearts has a relief on the edge, depicting Tizoc dressed as Huitzilopochtli seizing captives representing tributary tribes. Most of the towns, unfortunately, must have been merely reconquered, since their names appear in the previous conquest lists of earlier rulers. It is not a complete surprise to read in some accounts that Tizoc died of poison administered by chiefs disgusted at his lack of military success.[12]

Ahuitzotl* succeeded his brother Tizoc in 1486. His first task was to complete the great temple the others had begun, in the dedication of which the gathering of sacrificial victims played an important part. He invoked the aid of Nezahualpilli, and the allies made a two-year campaign into northern Oaxaca, amassing no less than twenty thousand victims, the high point of the sacrificial cult in Mexico. At the start of the dedication the captives stood in two rows, and Nezahual-

*Ah'-weet-zotl.

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175 pilli and Ahuitzotl began the grisly work of tearing out the
796 victims' hearts. Lesser dignitaries succeeded each other according to rank, until the awful immolation was completed.[18]

175 Ahuitzotl's military campaigns extended south into Guatemala and as far north as the Huaxteca in Vera Cruz. He was
[869] constantly engaged in putting down revolts, especially in Puebla, where the Tlaxcalans* and Cholulans had resisted Tenochcan domination. His capital, meanwhile, had grown so enormously that he had to construct another aqueduct, a fact which indicates that sheer pressure of population was an important cause for the military exploits of Tenochtitlan.
[731] An unusually disastrous flood beset the city in 1503, so that Ahuitzotl had to send to Texcoco for aid in restoring the dikes. While superintending these public works he received a head injury which proved fatal. Ahuitzotl's personality was strong and vicious. He was passionately fond of war, being a vindictive and relentless foe. Likewise he had those traits which so often accompany military character, lust for women and fondness for display.

The luckless Montezuma II, surnamed Xocoyotzin† (the Younger), son of Axayacatl, succeeded his uncle. Not only had he to keep the conquered tribes in order, but also he had constantly to provide captives for sacrifice. This bloody cult, which to the Tenochcan mind had brought such eminence,
[782] had to be maintained lest disaster ensue. He approached his uncle's piety on one occasion when twelve thousand captives from a rebel province in Oaxaca were delivered up to the War God.[19]

The last New Fire Ceremony took place in 1507. The years immediately preceding, with their threat of an ending

*Tlash-ca'-lans. †Sho-coy-o-tzin.

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532 805 bolize the heavens and their color. This strip is girdled by the signs for stars, through which penetrate designs emblematic of the rays of the sun. Two immense Fire Serpents, symbolic of the Year and Time, circle the exterior to meet face to face at the base. Boring back through these forms to the significance behind them, we have a grandiose conception of the majesty of the universe.[11] (See Plate 52, top.)

349 532 In recent years, under the Presidential Palace in Mexico City, a monolith over a meter high was found, which represented a platform and a stair crowned at the top by a similar solar disk. Reliefs on the sides show Huitzilopochtli, God of War, and Tezcatlipoca, God of the Smoking Mirror, symbolizing the sacred war between night and day. Probably the Calendar Stone was set up in much the same manner, and it is tantalizing to think of the lost reliefs which explained and ornamented the great disk when it was in position.[12] (See Plate 52, bottom.)

532 805 782 The historical accounts record that the Calendar Stone was made in 1479 and the great eagle vase of Tizoc during his rule from 1481 to 1486. A trough, extending from the basin to the edge of the vase, has been explained as a drain for blood to run out. However, the design is not keyed to this drain, and the purpose of the basin is to burn hearts, not to receive blood. Therefore, the furrow was probably made by the Spaniards, who sought either to use the vase as a nether millstone or tried unsuccessfully to smash it as an example of idolatry.[13]

532 The dates of these two monuments indicate that this was the time when Aztec civilization burst into flower. It is a tribute to Aztec artists that, originally fettered by the more lowly tasks of handicraft, they could accept the tremendous

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PLATE 60

AZTEC RELIGION

TOP: *Left:* Priests and laymen sacrifice two victims in honor of the War God. *Right:* War captive on sacrificial stone defends himself against members of the warrior orders. BOTTOM: *Left:* Sacrificial knife with mosaic handle representing an Eagle Knight, in the British Museum. These pictures from the Codex Florentino reveal the technique of using a stone knife to make a deep enough incision to reach the heart and tear it out. *Right:* Sacrifice to the Sun.

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[p. 176(D)]

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776 were grouped into armies of the east and the west. Gladiatorial combats, often to the death, expressed this idea in [796 701] ritual; and the great warrior orders, the Eagle Knights of Huitzilopochtli and the Ocelot Knights of Tezcatlipoca, likewise reflected the conflict between day and night. This Sacred War permeated the ritual and philosophy of Aztec religion.* (See Plates 39, middle left; 40.)

While the great gods, the chief deities of the tribe, tended to be associated with the heavens, there were many others who controlled growth and fertility. Often these gods had goddesses as wives or companions, as if the idea of reproduction of the male and female principles were dawning in Aztec theology. Tlaloc, the Rain God, held sway over growth and vegetation, and his companion Chalchihuitlicue, (Our Lady of the Turquoise Skirt), presided over lakes and rivers. This goddess was the center of an important cult and is represented as a charming young girl beautifully dressed. Xipe (the Flayed One) symbolized spring, and his distinctive costume, a human skin, represented the new covering of vegetation with which the earth clothes itself each year. His priests, at the ceremonies in his honor, carried this sym- [796 782] bolism into their costume by donning the skins of freshly flayed captives. (See Plates 28, top left; 56, top right; 59, bottom left; 61, bottom left.)

The corn goddesses were young and lovely and probably derived from the old cult of the Middle Culture goddesses. Chicomecoatl,* (Seven Snake), was the Goddess of Crops and Subsistence, represented by corn, the staple food. Xilonen,† "Young Corn Mother," and Xochiquetzal,‡ "Flower

*Chee-co'-me-co-atl. ‡Sho-chee-ket-zal'.
†Shee-lo'-nen.

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796 continuance of their existence endowed the ritual with profound solemnity. The New Fire Ceremony was symbolized by the extinction of the old altar fire, which had burned perpetually for fifty-two years, and the kindling of a fresh one in token of the new grant of life.* (See Plate 29, top row.)

During the five useless days (*nemontemi*) of the final year the people let their fires go out and destroyed their household furniture. Fasting and lamentation were the order of the day while the populace awaited catastrophe. Pregnant women [789] were shut up in granaries, lest they be changed into wild animals, and children were marched up and down and kept awake, for fear that sleep on that fatal evening would result in their turning into rats.

At sunset the priests, in solemn panoply, representatives of the whole array of the Aztec pantheon, ascended the Hill of the Star, anciently known as Huixachtecatl. This extinct volcanic crater rises abruptly from the Valley floor and is visible from almost every quarter of the Valley of Mexico. From the temple to its summit the priests anxiously scanned the heavens as the night wore on, awaiting the hour when a certain star or stars, Aldebaran or the Pleiades, reached the center of the heavens and gave the sign that their world would continue.

[372] At the very moment when these stars passed the meridian
● [782] the priests seized a wooden fire drill and kindled a new fire in the open breast of a victim freshly slain for the purpose. The populace—priests, chiefs and commoners—thrilled to a great happiness. Runners lit torches from the new fire and rekindled the altars in the temples of every town and hamlet, whence the people bore the flames to their hearths. Like fireflies the darting torchbearers sped through the night, bringing the promise of a new life to every man, woman and child.

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With the dawn, more than ever gracious in its fulfillment of a nations' piety, the populace rallied, renovating their temples, refurbishing their houses and making new utensils for temple and household use. There was feasting on special food, and sacrifice both by personal bloodletting and the immolation of captives betokened the measure of popular gratitude.

Another striking ceremony fell on the day Four Earthquake (or Motion), the sign of the present age, and symbolized the passage of the sun through the heavens. At dawn a captive dressed as the Sun God, Tonatiuh, ascended the platform where the Calendar Stone was set. Four priests spread-eagled the victim, and a fifth opened his breast to tear out the heart as an offering to the god. The populace then feasted until noon, gashing their ears and parts of their bodies with blades of obsidian. In the afternoon the Eagle and Tiger Knights, votaries of the solar cult, took part in a dance dramatizing the sacred war wherein the sun is slain, to be reborn the following day. The dance culminated in a gladiatorial sacrifice. Selected Eagle and Tiger Knights, armed with real weapons, slew a captive warrior, chosen for his military distinction, who was tethered to a circular stone representing the sun's disk and who defended himself with dummy weapons only.[10] (See Plate 60, top right, bottom.)

A curious type of sacrifice took place in connection with the worship of the god Xipe and may be the origin of the arrow sacrifice which is performed in honor of the morning star by the Pawnee of our Western plains. In the Mexican rite the victim was lashed to a scaffold, and priests, using bows or *atl-atls*, shot him to death.[11]

The Aztecs performed a hideous ceremony in honor of the Fire God, Huehueteotl. Prisoners of war and their cap-

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796 [276] 782

tors took part in a dance in honor of the god, and the next day the captives ascended to the top of a platform, where a powder, *yaubtli* (Indian hemp), was cast in their faces to anesthetize them against their ghastly fate. After preparing a great fire, each priest seized a captive and, binding him hand and foot, lifted him onto his back. A macabre dance took place around the burning coals, and one by one they dumped their burdens into the flames. Before death could intervene to put an end to their suffering the priests fished out the captives with large hooks and wrenched the hearts from their blistered bodies.[12]

In contrast to the callous brutality of the fire sacrifice, the ceremony in honor of the god Tezcatlipoca was strikingly dramatic, tinged with the pathos with which we view the taking of a life. The handsomest and bravest prisoner of war was selected a year before his execution. Priests taught him the manners of a ruler, and as he walked about, playing divine melodies upon his flute, he received the homage due Tezcatlipoca himself. A month before the day of sacrifice four lovely girls, dressed as goddesses, became his companions and attended to his every want. On the day of his death he took leave of his weeping consorts to lead a procession in his honor, marked by jubilation and feasting. Then he bade farewell to the glittering cortege and left for a small temple, accompanied by the eight priests who had attended him throughout the year. The priests preceded him up the steps of the temple, and he followed, breaking at each step a flute which he had played in the happy hours of his incarnation. At the top of the platform the priests turned him over the sacrificial block and wrenched out his heart. In deference to his former godhood his body was carried, not ignominiously

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flung, down the steps; but his head joined the other skulls spitted on the rack beside the temple." (See Plate 61, top.)

Every one of the great monthly sacrifices had a dramatic significance, and a list of the principal feasts, the gods they honored and the month of their occurrence is set forth on Table XVII. Several authors have availed themselves of Friar Sahagun's matchless descriptions to set forth the elaborate rituals which we have lightly sampled here. The elements of time, training and elaborate preparation of costume, it can be readily seen, must have absorbed a large part of the resources of the tribe. The tentacles of ritual extended throughout the tribal activities, so that even games and sports were transformed into acts of religious meaning, although the participants undoubtedly derived a great deal of fun from their performance.

The ball game, *tlachtli*, was such a game, played in a court shaped like the capital letter *I*. Walls extended on either side of the stem of the *I*, and in the middle of each a stone or wooden ring was set vertically, in contrast to the horizontal position of a basketball hoop. The players tried to pass through this ring a hard rubber ball, which they could only strike with their elbows, hips or legs. There must have been some other method of scoring than by goals alone, since these, very naturally, were of rare occurrence—so much so that, in the event of one, players and backers had the right to snatch the wearing apparel of their adversaries. The game was played far and wide, courts having been found from the Republic of Honduras to southeastern Arizona. It has a special interest for us in that the first description of rubber, so important in our modern economy, was when Oviedo, in the sixteenth

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796 526 century, wrote of the game and the ball used by its players.[14] (See Plate 57, bottom left; Fig. 3.)

525 796 There were also games of chance which were played with a semisacred significance. One such game, *patolli*, utilized a board shaped like a cross, with spaces ruled in the arms, not unlike a version of the old-fashioned parchesi of our childhood. Macuilxochitl, Five Flower, the god of all games, was sometimes portrayed in connection with players of *patolli*.[15]

796 526 Another important entertainment involved the erection of a high pole at the top of which a movable platform was socketed. Men dressed as gods or the birds into which the gods transformed themselves, and, fastened by ropes wound around the platform, leaped off into space. As they did so the ropes, unwinding, rotated the platform and gave the effect of flight to the circling performers. Each turn brought the birdmen nearer to the ground, and they were wont to alter their center of balance and adjust their wings, producing the effect of the rise and fall of soaring birds. This modest application of the principle of gliding must have created a spectacle of color and beauty. The ceremony is still performed in parts of Mexico, and the Volador, or flying place, of Tenochtitlan was, until very recently, the site of the "Thieves' Market" in Mexico City.[16]

782 174 The application of human sacrifice to the most simple ceremonial act of thanksgiving offers a grisly contrast to the spirit in which these rituals were carried out. However, social and religious behavior are calculated to preserve human existence and ensure man's well-being, regardless of how warped the methods may become. It follows that the idea of sacrificing precious possessions to attain such ends would lead to the offering of the most precious gift of all, human life,

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since that is what man most ardently strives to keep intact. 782 174
Thus instances of human sacrifices keep cropping up in the world's religious systems, and we preserve in our own culture the concept of martyrdom, achieved by voluntary or involuntary means, as an act of virtue. The very beautiful example of the Saviour transmutes to the highest spiritual plane this idea of sacrifice for the good of humanity.

The Aztecs did not reach this spiritual level, but the symbolism of their sacrifice has, nonetheless, its own barbaric beauty. They reasoned that for man to survive, the gods who permit his existence must also live and wax strong. These gods, however, received their best nutriment from the most precious of offerings, the hearts of men. Thus a vicious circle became established which led to sacrifice on an increasing scale. The gods manifested their favor and their strength to the Aztecs by letting them prosper, but the Aztecs, on their part, had to sacrifice hearts to the gods to maintain their good will. A good part of the tribal prosperity emanated from military success, so that the most acceptable sacrifices were the hearts of adversaries, which were the hardest to acquire since prisoners could not be taken without military victory. A martial success, on the other hand, could only be achieved through the exercise of divine favor. Thus sacrifice led to war and war back to sacrifice, in an unending series of expanding cycles. The effect that this practice had on foreign affairs we shall describe in the next chapter. (See Plate 60, top.)

War captives were the most esteemed offering, and the 782
braver and higher in rank, the more valuable they were. [727]
Slaves were killed for minor ceremonies, and in rare instances [567]
women and children were slain in fertility rites to ensure growth in plants by the powers of sympathetic magic.

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growth in plants by the powers of sympathetic magic. Ceremonial cannibalism was sometimes practiced, in the belief that the eater can absorb the virtues of the eaten, but this rite cannot be considered a vice. The letting of one's own blood was another way to ensure divine favor, and people did horrible self-penances such as mutilating themselves with knives or drawing through their tongues a string on which were threaded maguey spines. The higher the social position of the individual and the more he consequently knew of ritualistic observance, the more arduously he performed the fasts, penances and tortures imposed by the religion. The priests, therefore, were strongly cognizant of their social responsibility and by the rigor of their own lives strove to ensure the well-being of the tribe.[17] (See Plate 61, bottom right.)

The picture writings of the Aztecs take human sacrifice and penance as a matter of course but seldom indicate the quantity of victims. Indeed, only one such manuscript records the monthly ceremonies, and a post-Conquest copy of another reveals a sacrifice of twenty thousand people at the dedication of the enlarged great temple of Mexico.[17] The Spanish accounts and those of the educated Indians agree, but whether Christian piety induced exaggeration, and how much, it is difficult to ascertain at this time and age. The Conquistador who counted thousands of skulls on the skull rack in Tenochtitlan apparently confirms these other statements, which the great humanitarian and Indian lover, Las Casas, discounted in his special pleading for decent treatment of the indigenous population of New Spain.[18]

The priesthood, beside performing these bloodcurdling acts, had other more pacific duties; they also instructed youth in the mysteries of writing and keeping records. Aztec writ-

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have been an important religious center in Middle Culture times. However, neither trade nor religion broke down the sense of communal and political independence in Central Mexico. (See Plate 35, Fig. 2.)

Foreign relations centered around war, which, we have seen, was an important part of Aztec economy and religion. The same confusion of motives that we find in our modern culture affected the reasons for military action. We wage war for economic, territorial and political advantages and, while condemning the practice in our adversaries, justify our own participation by saying that we are fighting for freedom, to liberate someone, to extend civilization or to ensure peace. Soldiers on our own side are brave and attain glory, preserve our social virtues and sacrifice themselves for the public well-being. Those on the other side are aggressors, agents of evil and cowardly knaves. The Aztecs made war for defense, revenge and economic motives, which were inextricably confused with the need for the sacrificial victims requisite for proper adoration of their gods. Thus in warfare the great aim was to take captives, but behind this religious goal lurked the less holy urges of political and economic expediency.

The captive himself attained social status, since he went to a special warrior's heaven. A redonbtable Tlaxcalan chief, named Tlahuicol, was singled out for sacrifice to the sun and fought so successfully with his dummy weapons that he killed some of his adversaries and wounded a number of the others. He was pardoned and offered a chieftaincy in the Tenochcan army. Tlahuicol, however, rejected his pardon and gladly underwent sacrifice for the greater honor and glory in that death. This story illustrates the attitude of the

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individual warrior, which is not unlike that of the mediaeval knight or career soldier in our own culture.[6]

The Aztec reasons for fighting and their social and moral sanctions for war were not so very different from our own, except that we have many more, due to our superior rationalizations. The Aztec military technique, however, was definitely inferior, since it was not so completely developed a social tool as it is our own culture. The basic organization of the army required the participation of every able-bodied man under the direction of the war chief. However, as Aztec society grew more intricate and greater numbers of warriors took the field, the military structure became more rigid.

The unit of organization was an aggregation of twenty men, several of which were combined into larger bodies of two to four hundred, roughly corresponding to our platoons and companies. Special detachments of from four to six men, who did scouting and raiding, operated much as do the squads of our own military system. The clan commander marshaled the larger bodies, much as a colonel handles his regiment. The clan troops were banded together in four divisions under the heads of the four municipal quarters, and the tribal war chiefs had the supreme command. In a very numerous army the troops from a given quarter, or *barrio*, were sometimes divided into brigades, composed of the forces from two or three clans.[6]

The high tribal officers, the war chief, the chiefs of the quarters and the clan chiefs commanded the larger bodies. The ordinary chiefs and members of the warrior orders, the Knights of the Eagle and the Tiger and of a third infrequently mentioned order, the Arrow, according to their particular ability, took over the lesser units. In other words,

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174 was set with razor-sharp obsidian blades. Usually he was
796 killed in the most honorable of deaths, that of sacrificial vic-
349 tim to the Sun God, Tonatiuh, but sometimes he would resist so successfully that he gained a pardon. Other disk-shaped stones were placed about the plaza. One, thirteen feet in diameter, was set vertically on a special platform. Carved with a consummate mastery of design, it represented the symbolic history of the world. Another disk, set flat, was hollowed in the center, so that hearts wrung from war captives might be burned to nourish the great gods. This was carved on its surface and edge to commemorate the many conquests of War Chief Tizoc, who was shown dressed as a god, with his captives before him.

174 In another part of the plaza a sacrifice was to be made.
● 782 Before a small temple dedicated to one of the myriad Aztec gods a group was gathered, some in the gay panoply of merchants and others wearing the sinister black of the priesthood. A tightly pinioned slave stood in their midst and looked unseeingly before him, resignation, not fear, on his face. The priests rushed him up the steep steps of the temple, followed by the merchants at a more leisurely pace. Two priests seized the slave by either arm, forcing him backward, while two others pulled his legs from under him until his body curved, belly upward, over the altar. A fifth priest plowed his flint knife in a long sweep from the breastbone to the base of the stomach and, reaching into the aperture, with a dexterous twist tore out the heart. This he burned, while it was still throbbing, in a carved stone vase, while the merchants, swinging long ladles of smoking incense, chanted their thanks for a safe and profitable excursion into the hot country. (See Plate 60.)

They arrayed him [like the god], and he carried in his hand a green gourd vessel, in which was water. With a branch[115] he sprinkled people.

And when not on his feast day, but sometime during the year, [a devotion was paid to Napa tecutli,] another man impersonated him, and they decked him [similarly].

When one of the makers of mats desired that there should be a dance at his house, that he should observe [a devotion], the governors of his guild (*calpulequе*)[116] escorted [the impersonator of the god], who went sprinkling the people with water, since they had prayed that they might be benefited.

And when he delivered himself of his faults, [the celebrant] brought forth his goods and chattels.

He said: "May I eat not in vain, may I consume not in vain, may I use not for myself alone that which hath benefited me. May all be eaten, drunk, consumed, that a dance be danced for our god, Napa tecutli. May I now live, soon sleep, soon awake again. [The god] knoweth if he will give anything to me, if he willeth that anything be given."

Then he covered the impersonator with a large cotton mantle; who, thus clothed, then departed [with the *calpulequе*] from [the mat-maker's] house.

And then [the mat-maker] feasted all his kinsmen.

And in the guild hall where was guarded the image [of the god], the mat-makers greatly honored and cared for him. Always they spread out mats and set up seats; they shook [things] out, they swept clean, they removed rubbish, they laid fires. Always they swept [the hall] very clean, they provided incense. No rubbish lay about.

And in this manner was [the god] twilight; he was covered with a black unguent; his face had a thick coating of soot—his face was blackened, and it was spotted with a paste of amaranth seed. He wore a paper crown. His hair-dress, at the back of his head, was of paper. He wore a paper breech-clout. He had bells and white sandals. He bore the shield [ornamented with] water-lily flowers and leaves. He carried a staff of long thick reeds.

quichichioaia, ynnac mantinenca, xoxouje, xoxouhquj xicalli: vncan intloenj atl, vexotica ic teatzallhvia. 776 796 567

Auh yn jquac ome ilhujuh, yn çan nenamajan: oc no ce quiçiqtlaiotiaia, quichichioaia: 467

yn jquac ilh acn, petlachiuhquj quinequj ychan quitotia, quinepiceltin: vmpa quivicaia, in calpuleque, teatzallhujtiuh, tonachviuhuh, inhquin ic quitlanjliaia, ynic quimicoaltz.

Yoan inhquin yvic mocuitlaxcuitiztlaoaia: yn açaca ic vnca itlaqui, yaxca:

quitoaia, macamo njcnen-qua, macamo njcnenpolo, macamo njcnicxaqui, yn nocuelilloca: ma onquilo, ma onjoa, ma onpopoliuj, ma ic onmjtoti in toteuh napa tecutli: ma çaquen njnonemjtia, yn ac inhquj njcochiz, ac inhquj njneoaz, ielic quimati, yn açoc ida, nechmomaquixtiz, quimonacaviliz:

ic quinquentiaia oc quachtli, yn ixipcla xuchioaia, ic onlquiça yn ichan:

auh ic xuchitlacatl, tlatlaquaia yn joaniolque. 776

Auh yn jcalpulco in vmpa pialoia yaipcla, cenca tlamauiztiliaia, tlâcoliaia, in petlachiuhque, xuchipa petlatzoca, 467 icpalotoca, tlatzetzelaa, tlachpana, tlacuicuj, tlctlalia, xuchipa cupaltema, tlatetzcalihuhtoc tlatetzcalihtimanj, [356] atle vetztoc, çe tlaçolli.

Auh yuju yn xuchichioaia, motiloçac, mjxtlilpupoxc, 776 mixtlilhuj, mjchchiaujticac, amacalc, yiamacuexpal, amamantle, tuitulle, ixtaccaque, atlacuexmanchimalc, aztapiltapilc.

Twenty-first Chapter, which telleth of those called the Little Molded Ones (*Tepictoton*), who were held to be among the Tlaloc.

[The Tepictoton] were also thought to belong among the Tlaloc.

These thus named Tepictoton were only imagined. They made them as representations of various mountains.

And any who were palsied, cramped, stiffened, paralyzed, or any who were threatened with drowning when the wind arose over the water, would then vow that they would fashion images, that they would make representations of

Jnic cempoalli vce capitulo, ytechpa tlaina yn itoca tepictoton: yn jnoan pouja tlaloque.

No yeoan pouj, intech tlamjtoia yn tlaloque:

yn jc mjtoaia tepicto, çan quimonpiquja, quimixtpelaiotiaia, in tetepe, in çaço cactle tepetl.

Auh yn aquja coacuja, cocoponia, quaquauhtia, 776 cocotocuja: inoço yn aquja atlan mjquinenquj, ehecatl ipan 782 ● monequia ania: vncan monextiloia ynic tepiquic, in quipipiqui: quenamacauh, in chalchiuil ycac, in tlaloc:

115. The corresponding Spanish text qualifies "ve como de ulpi" (incorr).
116. According to Durán, (op. cit., Vol. II, p. 219), the *calpuleque* were "*señores ó guardas de barrios.*"

776 Quetzalcoatl, Chalchiuitl ycue, Tlaloc, Papoccatepetl, Itzac
782 tepetl, Poiauhtecatl,[117] and any other mountains of which
they had vessels to make representations.

532 And they represented the mountains, they made their
782 images, only in a dough of amaranth seed and maize,[118]
755 made in human form, made to look like men.

They gave them teeth of squash seeds; they provided them
eyes of fat black beans. With whatever adornment [the
mountains] were represented, thus when they made them,
they thereupon arrayed them.

[314 And they made papers, and they spattered them with
289] liquid rubber.[119] And they laid these over them as mantles.

And some of these papers, which were spattered with
drops of liquid rubber, they hung on a cord, tied and fas-
tened together, so that they were held in a row before
the small molded ones [Tepictoa].

They rustled, quivered, and flew in the breeze. Canes of
fat, round reeds [held the cord] at both ends; [the canes]
were stuck into and supported by the ground. On this were
held the rubber-spotted papers.

[415] And a green spotted gourd was split in two and cored.
Before [the Tepictoa] they set this, which they called the
turquoise cup, for the wine, in which the wine was. Thus
they offered [them] wine.

793 And it was the office of the priests alone, who were experi-
532 enced, to make [the Tepictoa] and set them in place. None
of the householders dared make or adorn them.

And on the fifth [day], when they feasted the priests,
it was said, they caused them to forget.

782 When the Tepictoa were fashioned, thereupon they held
755 a vigil and made music for them.

During the night, they made offerings four times; they
set before the priests, before them who sang the songs for
the Tepictoans, round *tamales* which they gave them.

And four times they offered them food during the night,
and they made music for [the Tepictoans].

[198 They whistled with their fingers, they made music for
333] them with shells, with flutes, and with fifes.

[273 Young jousters, in their cape, who cut capers, and armed
463] people, blew the flutes. They also were offered food.

And on the next day they slew the Tepictoans [images];
they slew them, like sacrificial quail, twisting their necks.
Then they gathered up and carried away the Tepictoan
figures made of a dough of amaranth seed and maize to
the priests' house, where dwelt the priests.

And he who [caused to be] fashioned the Tepictoa there-
upon returned to his guests, where they were entertained.

273 And in the evening, toward nightfall, then all the old
782 people are drinking wine—those already advanced in age, the
785

popocatepetl, itzac tepetl, poiauhtecatl: ynan in çaçe
quenquixcel tepetl in quixtemoan in quipiqui.

Auh in quipiquia, in quinixiplatiuia in tetl, çan
tecalli, quixtlacatlaliuia, quixtlacatlachieltiuia, tlacatlachie-
ticatca:

quixtlauiuia xiocuchilli, auh in quinixtlelotiuia xiecutli:
in quemmj yxtlatepuj in quinixiplatiuia, in quipiquia
çan no inhuj yxjc quixchichioaia.

Auh ynan quichioaia, amatemuxil, colchachapotzcuia,
colchipiuiuia, quixquequentiuia:

auh in ceppj amatemuxil, tlacolchipinjlli, tlacolchachapo-
talli, tecatitech quipipiloaia, tecatitech quixtemotechilpiuia,
quixtemotechpaloaia, ynixpan anmo, in itzacxuque in
tepictoa:

hiçaxaxanc papapatlacatic, papatlanoc, canpilcuuxil,
xaxac, xaxacuc, xaxocxampa tlatlalolcuac, tetzontectiuc, ye
ixoch anmo temujil.

Auh tzilacatoli, tlaxtlapanli, tlaxtlauacli: ynixpan
mamaxca, chalchihuacalli ipan poujia, vctli vncn ca, vctli ic
mamaxca.

Auh çan ixhuan in tlamacazque, yn jmquixti, in
tzochixque cuica, yn quixchichioaia, in quixtlaliuia: aiac
çan mocuiuiaia, in calla in quixchichioaia.

Auh mocuiltica in quixtlalliuiaia, nimo: quixmolcaxal-
tiuia in tlamacazque:

yn o ic cenhuxo tepictoa, ninan ic ic quixnoçaoa,
quixcuixoaia:

in ceiuuj xapo in quixtlamanjlia, tamalolli in
quixmacaia, quixmamaia ynixpa, in tlamacazque, in
tepiccujca:

no xapo in quixtlamacaia ceiuuj, ynan quixtlapichiliuia,

quixmoquiquixtiliuia tecuicuili in quixpichiliuia, ynan
vlacapitzalli, cocuxjloti,

vlacapitzoaia, çan tehpochtli, papaquixj, huexiuj,
tolbiriotiuij, tecomatlatinj, cacalaqua, no tlamacazia.

Auh yn ontetric ninan quixmicitia yn tepictoa, quixquech-
coloaia, quixquechcuj, quixquechtlacaxoaia, çanpan quixcua-
xiloloa, cuacicuj, in tepictoanalli, quixquj yn calmecac yn
ixpa anmo, tlamacazque.

Auh in tepixquinj; ninan in yc calaquih yn itlacamomal-
hoca, yn jeoaoaoa, vncan motlalia, motlatiquia:

auh in in iuuatinh, in in tzvvlac ninan in in tlamaca,
motlamacxtlalia in vncalmeca, yn in chicuacpa, yn ontlachi-

117. Gods of the six, of water, and of rain (cf. corresponding Spanish text). Popocatepetl and Itzac tepetl (Iztac citatl) are mountains-gods in the Valley of Mexico; Poiauhtecatl is Mt. Orizaba.

118. Made of dough (very coarse), in the Spanish columns. Este vocablo [*tzoalli*] en castellano [Zacate del Huichilobos] (Ensayo Kingsl, p. 27).

119. ". . . unos papeles llenos de goma de ule, a los cuales papeles llamaban amatamalli" (Bibliografía, *Historia general*, Vol. I, p. 128).

well-matured, the gray-headed, the white haired; and the old women.

Of these it was the exclusive privilege that they should drink wine.

And when they had drunk their fill, thereupon all went to their houses, dispersed and scattered.

Some went off weeping; some danced the warriors' dance; they danced the ceremonial dance; some walked weak-kneed; some went shouting.

And first the wine-makers were entertained; they rested from their office.

It was explained that for four days they should fast and abstain during their work, but [the wine] sent.

They should look to their strict abstinence; no man might lie with a woman, nor a woman with a man.

[And] none might taste the wine, nor the syrup [from which it was made], while it was being prepared.

One might not even dip one's finger into it; one paid it reverence and tasted it delicately, until the wine was tapped.[120]

And of him who secretly tasted it, who in secret drank some, even tasting only a little, it was said that his mouth would become twisted, it would stretch to one side;[121] to one side his mouth would shift; it would be drawn over.

And if one were lame in one hand, or if his arm or leg quivered, or a hand or foot became misshapen, or the foot shook, or his eyes trembled, or his lips quivered, or if one were possessed by a devil, it was said that the great mountain gods had been angered by him.

And when the day broke, thereupon took place the dispersal of the remains. At the distribution, only the relatives, the people of the household—his family, they of the same parentage, of the same womb, those of the same clan [took part].

They called it the distribution of the leftovers; then all the food and drink were consumed, used up—all finished.

And they left nothing of what still remained of the drugs in the vessel, of the wine, of vessels[122] of fruit wine,[123] of white wine, of sleep-producing wine.

And he who had the images made, if he had the gear, as was said above, he was then cured. And he who was to have drowned but did not die, when he caused the images to be made then paid his debt and then fulfilled his vow.

And all their adornments—their paper garlands worn over one shoulder [as a sign of death or of one to be slain before the gods], their crowns of round thick reeds, and their flame-sticks,[124] their cloud-bundles;

and the turquoise cups and their little cacao beards with

calhuiyque, in ie quauitaque, in ie tzonitaque, yuan ilamatlaca yn jlamatque:

ixhoan vel izcuinan: cuica, in vctli in quinpa.

Auh in otlaixtic, ninan ie ic vinjloa, cocomaoaia, xixitinjoa:

yn aca mochaqujltitiuh, yn aca moqujchitoctiuh, mjtoctitiuh, momamatiuh: yn aca tetamilitiuh.

Auh in vctlali, achto molcaoaltilóia: çan no cenca yn inapjuh, yn jchiuji:

tlacaqujtilóia, nevilhujtl maçoaia, qujneçaujlóia yn inapjuh, ynic amo zoçoiac:

vel mapióia, vel motlacaoaltilóia, amo cioacochia, amo oqujchcochia, itzla cioatl:

çan ninan aiac vel cuelapaloaia yn vctli, yuan in tecutli, ynic mochioaia:

aiac inmanel inapil, conaqujxia, vel ymacaxna, vel tzalhujlóia, yn inqujchica, moiacaxapotlac yn vctli.

Auh yn aquja, ichtaca tlapaloaia, yn tlachtaca yin inmanel çan tepitzin ocompalo: inh mjtoaia tennecujlivia tepantilivia, avic nemamana avic xoquivi yn ie:

yuan in aca matzicoliuja, yma qujcuecuetza, icxi quicuecuetza, macopichoaj, icxicopichoaj, icxicuecuechca, yhixteoca, tzapapatlaca, tenviviioca, itech qujneoa: mjtoa, oqujtlavelique in xonnohqua tepictoa.

Auh yn otlathuje, ninan ie ic apeoalo: yn apoca çan ixhoan, yn iuuiolqua, in vel icalloc, in cenlaca, cenoca, in vel icujtlacalloc, yn vel inocaioc:

ceceiuoa apeoalo, iquac compelioja tlatlauj, in quezqujch mococoia, in ixi, in tlaquallí:

yuan in oc quenqujch omocuah xiuocuejc in vctli, in oiaoatl, in tlachiualvctli, in iuac vctli, in cochvctli.

Auh yn tepiqujnj, in tepiquj: itzla cuecivi, yn juh conjnacapac, ic patic: yuan yn aquje atlan miquinquja ynjc amo mjc: ixhoatl, ynjc tepiquj, ynjc mantlaoa, ynjc qujnelilia yuecoal.

Auh yn jnquich, yn jnnechichinal, yn jntlaquan, yn jnacxoxouhqua, yn jnacxapil, yn jntlapetlanjlquauh, yn jnaiauhcoxcal:

yuan yn jnchalchiuhtzitzicat, ynß yn jntlaquaxin molcaxcoxcal,

120. Cf. Sahagún, op. cit., p. 39, citing corrupted gloss in *MS Biblioteca del Palacio*. Cf. also explanation in Sahagún, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 38.
121. Probably inaccurate in context. Is does appear in *MS Biblioteca del Palacio* (Cf. Sahagún, loc. cit.)
122. Possibly earth.
123. See Molina (*Vocabulario*).
124. Alonso Tezozomoc, *Histoire du Mexique* (tr. Tezozomoc-Ramirez, ed.; Paris: P. Jannet, 1853), Vol. I, p. 249, describes this as a light flame-colored stick: ". . . en cet état ils qu'il en sortait des flammes et des étincelles." Sahagún (op. cit., p. 30) calls it a lightning stick (Rámpiola).

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782 which [the celebrants] are, the little wooden bowls and the clay bowls, all these they left at Tepetzinco: they threw them into the water, off shore, at a place called Panzinco.

776 **Twenty-second Chapter**, which tells of the god with the mirror in his hair (Tezcatzoncatl), who also was held to be one of the four hundred rabbits (centzontotochtin).

He [was] the wine, in times past[125] considered full of sin. For he hunted people off crags, he strangled people, he drowned people, he killed them.

He was an evesome being. One did not affront him: one did not speak lightly of him.

And this Tezcatzoncatl was also considered one of those called the four hundred rabbits, who are the substance of wine—Ipuztecatl, Acolhua, Tlilhua, Panoscatl, Izquixcatl, Tolocatl, Papaztac, Tlalnecuiloa, Ome tochtli, Teposcatl, Chimalpoxcatl, Colhuacatzincatl.[126]

And as for the array of Tezcatzoncatl, he had the white leaves feather headdress; he had a crescent-shaped ornament through the septum of his nose and a paper ear-plug. He had a fan-shaped ornament of red ocaca feathers and a neck piece with flecks scattered over it. He had the knotted cloth with [representations of] scorpions. He carried the pulque gods' shield, the obsidian staff, and the fleur staff. And also he had rattles.

quauhcuexcuexti, quapiccuexcuexti, nuchi vuqui cuecuexin tepetzinco: aiiac cuenpanoia, vuqui nepanolo, yacacicon panzinco.

Inic cempaualli vnxcuexe cupiltzin, yuchqui tlatoa in tezcatzoncatl, yn jquac pouj cuexcuexochtli.

Jehuatl in octli, ixpan tlatocatlli ipan machtia: ca tetepeuia, tequachcauia, tzotzoua, tzoyotia;

tzontecuj, ano pinaltiuj, ano chicunaluj.

Auh yuju tzoztzcatzcatl, yuxan pouj, yuxan ate, yn nouxcuexe, cuecuexochtli, yn octli ixnacaio, yn ijpuztecatl, Acolhua, tlilhua, panoscatl, Jzquixcatl, Tolocatl, papaztac, Tlalnecuiloa, vme tochtli, tepuztecatl, chimalpoxcatl, Colhuacatzincatl.

Auh yn jnechichiual Tezcatzoncatl, xexelxoxo, iacxoxo, amaxocachc, cuepalxiuhcuexo, chaiaoc cuexpa, colotlalpilo, vuetzachchimalo, intzapilo, tequexpilo, no cuitzilo.

fin del libro

125. Xiuitl [*metaphor*, in these past (Sahagun *op. cit.*). The meaning also could be "drunk."
126. See Sahagun *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 112, 311, 319; Vol. III, p. 139; Vol. V, p. 67, for explanation of the names.

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—After Paso y Troncoso

III—Tezcatlipoca. IV—Tepictoton.
V—Quetzalcoatl xiuc (Chap. II). VI—Tlaloc (Temple of Tlaloc) (Chap. II).

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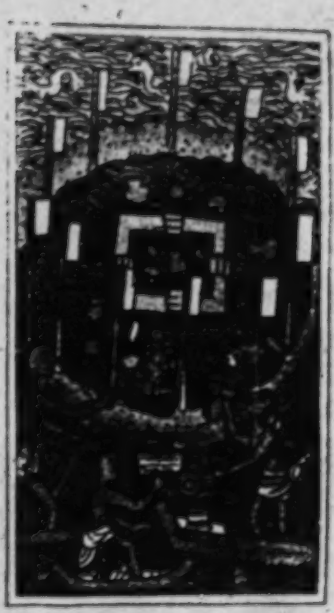

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—After Pina y Troncoso

[illegible]—Tzapotlan tenan (Chap. 9), Chalchiuhtli pitz (Chap. 11), Chicome xochi (Chap. 7). [illegible]—Tlaxcalli—Cuchcalcan (Chap. 8). [illegible]—Xiuh tzontli (Chap. 10). [illegible]—Tzoalcuan (Chap. 12). [illegible]—Petlalcalli (Tepictoton) (Chap. 13). [illegible]—Apazcalli, Chap. 14. [illegible]—Mixtecapan, Chap. 15.

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3: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1951 NU7 Aztec NU7

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Here Is Told in What Manner the Mexicans Made Offerings, and What They Made as Offerings in Their Temples.

Nican mexicanos in quenjin chocaya, yuan in ixhuiyan, in mexico.

Offerings.

Thus were offerings made: with food and with copal were offerings made, and with all kinds of living things—purchased turkeys, purchased birds; or copal. Or else whatever was newly formed—purchased cocoa, or chia, or flowers, or whatever [was newly grown].

And then did the young [unmarried] women make offerings: Before dawn their mothers and fathers awoke them. So they went about making offerings of gifts carried in the palms of their hands—little mantles, [which were] very small,—and then they quickly proceeded to lay gifts before the devil; in bowls they carried them thus to present them [to the gods].

Only in the houses were the mantles made. Thus did the young women make [their] offerings.

Tlamacehualli.

Injc tlamacehuia: tlaquiltica, yuan tlamatican tlamacehuia, yuan yca in tlein inich: apo tetolin, amoyo tenel, amoyo tlilmatli: amoyo in tlein ineuejcan nechca, apo cintli, amoyo chian, amoyo ueltiel, amoyo in tlein.

Auh injc tlamacehuia cenmelahuac: ixnec in quinjuitia intenanhuan, intetauan: injc quinnamiqui tentlapoalli, in tlacatlatolli tepiton, injc yeiuhca quinnamiqui ipapan tlalchi: cuexca in quinquixtia tenli ic conmanaia:

The Offering of Incense.

And then was the offering of incense performed, with an incense ladle. It was made of clay, with [crosses in its ladleare making] a smile. Then they laid live coals in the incense ladle. When these blazed up, duly they filled it with copal incense, and then went forth before the devil, or else in the middle of the courtyard, where were the braziers. [This] was made of clay.

And when they came up to the devil, then they dedicated the incense burner to the four directions, thus offering incense. And when they had offered [incense] to the four directions, then they threw [the incense and the coals] into the brazier. Here the copal incense lay smoking.

And then was it done: the mothers and fathers likewise sat down awaiting the children, [whether] sons[-children] or women[-children]: that they might offer incense quickly, they awoke them; that

gan ixchan nechtlalia in tlemalli, inje tlamacehuiloni.

Tlamacehuiloni.

Auh inje nechtlalia tlamacehuiloni, in jca tlemalli: quappi tlachichinilli, cocoxochitl, yecan conmanaia in tlemalchi in tlamacehuiloni: in conmaquiloque, ajaua ic conmana copalli, yc oalquiza in ijpapan [315] chalchi: amoyo in jtechpanoaia, ic yecan yeac tlaquetzalli: quappi tlachichinilli. [415]

Auh in conmaquiloque ipapan chalchi: ajaua conhuicaque quiahuia in tlemalpil, yuje tlapapachoia: auh yn jquac conhuicaque campanila, ic ajaua conmana in tlaquetzalli, yecan papaquiltica in copalli.

Auh yuje nechtlalia: no yeuantzon in quinjuitiaia in tepiltzin, in cupiltzin, in amoyo ciua quinjuitiaia in tenanhuan, in tatauan yuje tlamacehuiloc ixhuian

they might not become doubtful was this done in the house.

The Casting of Copal [Incense].

And the casting of *copal* [incense] was thus done, when any weighty words were yet to be said, or a judgment was yet to be uttered: first one cast *copal* [incense] into the fire. [For] whoever was to speak [weighty words], here lay the *copal* in a gourd vessel. Or else the singer, before he was to sing, thus did: first he cast *copal* into the brazier, and then the singer began [to sing].

The Eating [Kissing] of the Earth.

The eating [kissing] of the earth was thus done, when men came into any place: everyone kissed the earth, with one finger [touched to the ground and then to the mouth], either before the devil or else in front of the hearth.

And thus was perceived, thus was avouched one's word. When one put not much faith in [another's] word, then he said unto him:

"If what thou sayest is true, do then kiss the earth."

Whosoever it was then thus kissed the earth, and thus he bore witness to [the truth of] his words.

The [Ceremonial] Casting [of a Libation].

And thus was done the casting [of a libation]: When anything was to be eaten, and was not yet eaten, perchance of the food first a very small morsel was cut and cast in front of the hearth. When they had cast it, then they began to eat. No one first ate [before], indeed, libations had been cast in front of the hearth.

The [Ceremonial] Pouring [of a Libation].

Then was done the [ceremonial] pouring [of a libation], when an offering was made [to the god], perchance at the feast of the wine gods: When anyone made new wine, when it [began to] increase, when then it [began to] sound, they laid it as an offering in a bowl, in front of the hearth; and [they laid it] in small drinking vessels.

quinjuiziuia inic amo tlatziviacnjquac techan in mochiuia yn.

Copalxoxouiliztli.

Auh in copalxoxouiliztli ic mochiuia, yn jquac in tlein tlatolli ic mjtoa, ayo itconlatolli ic mitoa, achto conmaxia in copalli, in tleco: in aquja ic tlatoa, çan vncan monoca in copalli xicalcica: anoço cujcatl in ic cujcatl, ic pouaa, achto conmaxia in copalli in tlequauco, njmaan ic poua in cujcatl.

Tlalquiliztli.

In tlalquiliztli ic mochiuia, jquac in campa calliujtzinia, mochi tlacatl ontlalquaia, ica in ce imaqujl, ayo iquan diablo, anoço tecujtzinquac:

yuan ic tlaxtlilitia, ic achia in tlatolli: yn jquac tlein amo cenca achicaia tlatolli: ic teiliuijtia

inin nelli in tiquitoa, tlaxamalaqua:
ic njmaan tlalquaia in aquja, ic quixtlilitia itlanal.

Tlatlaqualiztli.

Auh inic mochiuia tlatlaqualiztli, jquac in tlein qualtzi yn aiamo qualo, ayo tlaqualli, achtopa achitzin tepitl mocentlaia, tecujtzinquac onmotlaqua: in ontlatlaçaloc njmaan ic poua inic tlaqualoc: niac achto tlaquaia vel achto tlatlaçaloia, in tecujtzinquac.

Tlatlaxcalliztli.

Inic mochiuia tlatlaxcalliztli, jquac in tlaxcalaia, ayo vitzicoloia: jquac in aca ixnecuiyan quijdaltia vctli, yn jquac aquiztlapixi, jquac ic tenotzaia, quiqualtiaia aquacic tecujtzinquac, yuan octlaxcaxcuepoan.

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And when men were to drink, they poured wine forth into the drinking vessel, and then poured a libation in front of the hearth. They poured the wine in a libation in the four directions.

And when they had poured a libation of the wine, then everyone drank the wine, then all began the drinking.

Auh yn iquac ic ytlacuatia, canopiloa ytlacuacoca in vctli, ajmoan ic cemixoa in tlecuilloquac, zanoçan cemixoa in vctli.

Auh yn iquac ocxemixoh vctli, ajmoan ic mochi tlacat, quiz yn vctli, ajmoan ic mochi pena in ytlacuatiloia.

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How Are Told the Various Modes in Which Blood Was Shed and Offered up.

Sacrificial Slaying, &c.

Thus was performed the sacrificial slaying of men, when captives and slaves died, who were called "Those who have died for the god."

Thus they took [the captive] up [to the pyramid temple] before the devil, [the priest] going holding him by his hands. And he who was known as the arranger [of captives], this one laid him out upon the sacrificial stone.

And when he had laid him upon it, four men stretched him out, [grasping] his arms and legs. And already in the hand of the fire priest lay the [sacrificial] knife, with which he was to slash open the breast of the ceremonially bathed [captive].

And then, when he had split open his breast, he at once seized his heart. And he whose breast he had open was quite alive. And when [the priest] had seized his heart, he dedicated it to the sun.

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The Drawing of Straws [Through Parts of the Body].

The drawing of straws was thus done, only upon days proper for [such] drawing of straws.

And indeed in all parts [of the body was it done] —perchance in one's ear, or, wherever willed it, one's tongue or one's thigh. And thus they pierced the flesh: with a thornlike obsidian point. And thus they then here drew a slender twig, or a straw; and then they gathered the flesh with a cord, that there they might pass a straw [through it]; and thus all performed a penance.

And when slender twigs had been passed [through the flesh], upon the morrow the straws were swept up and gathered; and the straws were much bloodied. And this was done in the house of the devil, or along roads where devils lay.

The Offering of Thorns.

The offering of thorns was thus performed: they plucked green reeds and yet unspent spines, and

Yuan nijnan in quenpohua nepohualiz yn ontli ic chicuacehuiliz.

Tlenquiltilli, &c.

Inic omehuiya tlenquiltilli, inic miquiz mulli yuan tlacatli in nijnoio tenamiqui

inic omehuiyaia inpan tlalhiz, yan cuauhxi inamoch, auh in ixcahuca nanacaxtiaia, ichaqui cuauhxi in ipan ixchcal,

auh in jouac nipan contzac navi tlacatl in quiixtilaiaia in jma in ixti, auh ic inuc once in tlenamacac tlamacazqui in nepatil inic quehuaquia tlachihli,

auh nijman ic cuechtzqui cuauhxic nelo in jiollo: auh ça ixhuc in quehuaquia, auh in jouac ocmanjiquc yuallo cuiquiltiaia in tenexatl.

Tlemiquiltilli.

In tlemiquiltilli ic nechiuia, yan no ipan in ihtic nemilli in tlemiquiltiloia,

auh yan nenjnan aqo inecauca, anozo in aquin quimopiin inemiquiloz, anozo inetlapan, auh inic quicuiuajnia inacaio ixhuxal in vitzmolinqui in ixtli, auh ic nimman vecan quimpiltiaia in tlacatl, anozo çacatl, auh inic quipiltiaia in inacaio necacica inic vecan quimpiltiaia tlacatl inic tlamocuelaia,

auh in jouac ohcaquimilloc, in ocuhuic tlachpanin nochipanaia in tlacatl yuan in çacatl cica copa, auh in nochiuhtli y, ichan Diablo anozo vel in vecan inemy Diablome.

Nevixcuecuelitli.

In nevixcuecuelitli ic nechiuia cuecuja in acu-

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bloodied them. Then they laid as offerings upon the green reeds two thorns.

In all places—some of them purchased in two places, or three, they laid the thorns as offerings; or in five places, only when it was of their own will.

inel yuan conmopia in mexicatl, auh quexquia ic quiyolcuecuexia in ipil acxcaial vme in vitztli

mexicatl in nca apo vecan anoço ecan in quimanaia vitztli, anoço macuilcan çan tiolilcuaia.

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The Bloodying.

When they bloodied themselves, then did they do: they cut their ears with an obsidian blade, and then took out blood from about the ears.

Nopalitl.

Ja mijquia inic quichioaia itztli ica in conmopia in jmacuexco, auh ninoã ic quiyolpipiloaia in ezli in imacuexcolco.

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The Cutting of the Ears.

Likewise this bloodying was a cutting of the ears, whom one was bloodied by the cutting of the ears.

Nonacazquilitl.

Çan ic no ichcaual in nopalitl in nonacazquilitl in mijquia in nonacazmopia.

The Twisting off of the Heads [of Birds].

The twisting off of the heads [of birds] was thus done: when they twisted the necks of small birds before the devil, also they dedicated [the blood] to him, and cut down [the body] before the devil. There the body of the small bird lay beating its wings.

Thapoxhuecoualitl.

Ja thapoxhuecoualitli ic mochiuia ca iconc in thacazitli inpan quiyocuaia in Diablo no conjeçiltia, vecan cuallaçaia in inpan Diablo, vecan tlapopolcuiuc in jehe in cozcatzitli.

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The Eating [of Sacrificial Victims' Blood by the Gods].

Then was done the eating [of sacrificial victims' blood by the gods]: When [the priests] had cut open a slave's or a captive's breast, then [the owner of the victim] took his blood in a wood reed, purchasers, cut a paper into the wood, which drew up the blood.

Then he took [the blood] in the wood and placed upon the lips of all [the images of] the devils the blood of him who had died for the gods.

Tlatlacaquilitl.

Injc mochiuia tlatlacaquilitli, in iconc ocoxcltzcapec in tlacatl anoço malli, ninoan quicuja in ixaço cuxtica yoan apo zoncel cuallaçaia in cuxic quichichiuhtoia in ezli,

ninoan ic quiquaia cuxtica in inquiçiuia Diablome in tonco quipiloltilitoia in ezli mochiuia in ixaço tzontiquej.

The Payment of a Debt [to the Gods].

The payment of a debt [to the gods] was thus done: when sorghum something had hidden one, purchaser debtor, whom he answered, then purchaser he then paid his debt with *copal* [incense] or paper [spotted with] liquid rubber. Because he did

Nenhuatilitl.

Ja nenhuatilitli injc mochiuia in jquac apo aca in thein ipil mochiuia, apo ezcalitli in jquac opeuic, ninoan apo cupalli yoã zoncel injc nentlavaia, injc

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not die he paid his due in that manner; because, verily, he would [otherwise] have died.

amo onjc inhquinma ic tlatlava, ichica ca omiquiquja.

The Spreading of Fir Branches.

Then was done the spreading of fir branches: In the woods they plucked fir branches, so that upon them they might lay [bloodied] thorns as offerings. First they spread out the fir branches, and then they laid upon them, as offerings, two thorns [stained] with blood.

Acxoiatemaliztli.

Jnjc muchivaia acxoiatemaliztli ca concuja quauhtla in acxoiatl xoxouhquj injc ipan nevitzmanalos achto contemaia in acxoiatl ipan conmanaia in vitztli vme ezço.

The Piling up of [Fire]wood for the God.

The piling up of [fire]wood for the god was then done: They took green wood in the forest and cut it. In order to burn it in the house of the devil, they built up [a pile of it]. Those did this who dwelt and did penance in the house of the devil.

Tetquauhquetzaliztli.

Jn tetquauhquetzaliztli, ic muchivaia, ca concuja in xoxouhquj quahujtl in quauhtla contequja injc vncan tlatlaz ichan Diablo quimaquetzaia, ichoantin quichivaia in vncan nenca ichan diablo in tlamacevaia.

The Sweeping.

[358] The sweeping was thus done: Strictly did they force [the young ones], faithfully were the children, whether women[-children] or men[-children], made to sweep there the courtyards of their houses.

And when they had first swept, before dawn, then they made their offerings carried in the palms of their hands, which they laid before the devil. And when they had gone to make the offerings, thereupon they took up their incense ladles that they might offer incense.

Tlachpanaliztli.

Jn tlachpanaliztli ic muchivaia, cenca qujncuitlaviltiaia, cenca cujtlaviltilcia in tepilhoan in aço cihoa, anoço oquichtin in vncā inchachan in jmjxvalco injc tlachpanazque.

auh in jcoac iovaxinco in cachto tlachpanque, njmā quichivaia in ventlamapictli in conmanaia ixpan Diablo, auh in jcoac ontlamanato, njmā ic concuja in intlema injc tlenamacazque.

Vigils. 1. All-night Vigils.

Thus was kept a vigil, when it was night.

They who dwelt here in the house of the devil, who kept watch during the night, remained very wakeful that they might not leave undone their duties because of sleeping. Hence they kept watch during the night, until dawn broke.

For this reason they kept watch: because of those things which should be done at midnight, or very late at night, or [when it was] already near dawn. Because of this they faithfully kept watch all night and tended the fire.

Toçvalistli. 1. Ixnoçoalistli.

Inic muchiuia toçolistli, iquac in ioualtica:

ichoantin in vncan nenca ichan diablo, in quipiuia ioalli, cenca ixnoçotinenca, injc amo tlacochcauazque, ynjc quipiuia ioalli, in izquichica tlathuiz:

ynjc quipiuia, ichica, in tlein muchiuaz yn iquac ioualnepantla, anoço tlaquaihioaz, anoço ic tlathujnaoac, ipampa in, vel quipiuia in ioalli, yuā quipiuia in tlel.

Abstinence.

When all abstained, they did not fast. But none washed themselves with soapwort in the steam bath; neither did [men] lie with women. Only when it was [the feast of] Panquetzaliztli did they fast for seven days.

Nequatilistli.

Inic nequatilia mo tlacatiquatiloia, çan ie nic quamoteuia, nic motemaia, auiac cioacochia: çanyio ypanc in panquetzaliztli, tlacatiquatiloia chicumilhuitl.

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How Are Told, in Very Truth, the Offerings Which They Made, in Order to Pay Honor to the Devil.

Nican mitoa, in vel neßi tlamamalitzli, in quichioaia, inic quijauiztilloia tlacatecolotl.

The Swallowing of Serpents.

Thus was done by those who swallowed serpents, when they observed [the feast of] Atamalcualiztli. They who were named mayanca swallowed [the serpents] while they were quite alive, holding them only in their mouths, cutting them to pieces [with their teeth] that they might swallow them. And when they had swallowed them, thereupon they were offered gifts, as hath been told in its place, and water *tamales* were eaten. [This happened] every eight years.

Cuecuelolitzli.

Inic mochioaia, in cuel quijauiztiaia, iquac yn atamalcualoloia quichioaia: motenocoia mayanca, çan ixtiniju in quijauiztiaia, çan incamatica in quijmocuaia, quijmocuacuetziuja, ynic quijauiztiaia. Auh yn iquac oquinelaque, çatepan motlaxtlaoia, yn itoaqui ipan ontlo, atamalqualoia chicuexiuhtica.

The Swallowing of Frogs.

And thus they swallowed frogs, likewise alive. When this was similarly done, there very same *mayanca* performed [the swallowing].

Cuecuelolitzli.

Auh inic cuecuelia quijauiztiaia çan no ixtiviia, çan no iquac mochioaia, çan no ichcuntin in mayanca quichioaia.

Making Birds Fly.

[231] Thus was it done [when] birds were made to fly at the time of the feast of Ezcalqualiztli: The youths tied birds to wooden rods; thus they danced as all [the birds, fastened by strings], circled [the wooden rods].

Tzompachuhtlalli.

Inic mochioaia, tzompachuhtlalloia iquac in ezcalqualiztli, in telpopochtin quauhtzotzoh quimjlpioia in tzonme ic mjtotoaia in iquac tlaiaoalloia.

Processions.

Processions were thus undertaken. For whatever feast was established, when this was done, all the people went in processions, perchance at dawn, or at sundown. Then they all dispersed.

Tlaiovalaliztli.

In tlaiovalaliztli, ic mochioaia in tlein ilhuiil motlalitivia iquac mochioaia, mochi tlacatl tlaiovalloaia, ayo ixkuamilnon, anozo ic teotlac, ic tlaxitijaia.

Singing in the Manner of Women.

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And the singing in the manner of women was thus done, when, maybap, they formed [the image of] whatever devil. Then everywhere all the women

Cihuapicuiquiztli.

Auh in jcihuapan cuiquiztli ic mochioaia iquac in ayo tlacatia Diablo, in tlein, iquac mochioaia

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qui man dancel [together, as] during the feast of Tlaloc.

The Moistening of Chalk.

Then was done the moistening of chalk: when they quickly moistened the chalk, then he who moistened the chalk ran. Then he appeared running fast, and a number followed him. They went moistening him, and any who did not hasten fell quickly under the stones.

The Lifting [of Children], that They Might Grow.

Then was done the lifting of children that they might grow: Also upon a certain day they lifted up all the small children [by the head] that they might grow. Along the roads and on all the ground lay the *nopal* [cacti], or maguey plants; thus, it was said, these thus would swiftly grow.

mjtotinia in cilcen noviam yoan tiquichtin iquac inilhuiuh tlaloc.

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Tiçapaloliztli.

Jnjc mochivaia tiçapaloliztli: in iquac concuiniquiça in tiçatl nimon ic motlaloa in tiçapaloa injc nezcia in cenca tlecça yoan ceqenjntin quitocaia, quitepachtivia mah in nepapa anno tlecçaia iciuhca tetica vetzia.

Teixcalaualiztli.

Jnjc mochivaia teixcalaualiztli no ipan in tlein tonalli mochintin in pipiltontti quimixcalaanaia velica yoā in iequjch tlalticpac onoc in nopalli, anoço metl, ic mjmaia inic hicinhca mocalaua. [827]

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A Tree [Rubrics] of Still Other Offerings with Which Similarly They Paid Honor to the Devil.

Hanging [an Object] over the Breast.

Thus was done the hanging [of objects] over the breast; thus was the tying with loose cotton thread: they tied [them] about the wrists and the necks of small children and [suspended on the cords], in small bags, *zontlilac* made of green maize. Here [in the *calpulli*] they set forth these, on small jar-stands, and small earthen jars, and lifted the jars up by the ears, and with their hands were filling their bags with water. And when they had reached the twentieth day, when [it was the feast] known as Tozoztli, [that was] when they untied the feathered threads which they had about the small children.

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[For] Pain.

[308] And [for] pain, thus was done upon the feast of [the god] Acolmiztli: the small children were ornamented in feathers [applied to them]; in colored feathers, [set] everywhere on their bodies. And the old people similarly applied feathers on their mustaches, over their lips, and upon their backs. Thus [734] they set feathers upon them—as it was said—because then Acolmiztli would not bewitch them.

The Seeing Out of the Children.

Thus was done the seeing out of the children. They took all of them there to the house of the devil, and had in truth all the children dance before them, and made them drunk. Hence it was called the seeing out of the children; for they had them all appear in the house of the devil.

The Act of Sniping.

Thus was done what was named the act of sniping: when mock battle was joined, the shield and

Inechcaua in oc cequi tlamamalilli in çan no ie quiquechtlalilia Diablo.

Nenpilloli.

Inic nenchivia nenpilloli, anic nenpiloia ica iepal in quinçilpioia pipiltotoni in inmaquechcha, yuan in jaquechcha yuan in jaujuc cleloacahuani in vncan cemmania vacalcauco yuan tecolcuetli, vacalcauco conquetzaia tentlah in ui in jaua itac, auh in ijc cacico ipan compouilhuiqui in iquac mocenca totoa heco iquac quiçemmilloia in icpal petonqui inic cenmilpiqui pipiltotli.

Neçacahuiloli.

Auh in nenenalitli ic nenchivia ipan ilhuiuh acolmiztli mihuiçoçtlavia in pipiltotoni tlapalilmiçca, nenpan in iuch inecuio. Auh in veuetlaca çiyio in jmelpan, in joinllapan yuan in jacuiçlapan, quiçaaçoçtiaia in ihuiçi, inic quiçaquetzaia, quilnauh ipampa inic amo teiollaquan acolmiztli.

Pilquechilloli.

Inic nenchivia pilquechilloli vnqua nenchivia quiçivicaia in iteupan Diablo, in pipiltotoni vel nenchivia inapan quiçaçaqua yuh quiçelcuentiaia inic mocenca pilquechilo ca nenchivia quiçevalquechilo in pipiltotoni in Diablo ichan.

Tlacuecuelloli.

Inic nenchivia in nenenalitli tlacuecuelloli in iquac nalli nalnenchivia ichimal inaquauh inac

war club of the captive lay in his hand, but his war club lacked obsidian points. And they who stripped had their shields and war clubs, in order to fight in gladiatorial sacrifice in supposed battle with the captive or slave.

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cmoc auc motzinto in imaquauh. auh in tlavavanque inchimal inmaquauh ixticac: inic tlavavanaia iuhqujn qujcali malli anoço tlacuili.

Lying in the Sacred Place.

For five days all lay stretched out in the reed [swamp]. Thus was penance done for Tlaloc when in the cave were laid the two *colossuses*.

Tetepan onalitli

Macujlilnujl in tolpan nenconia inic neçavililoia tlaloc in iquac vmic tlalilloia vmc colnavati.

Placing of Men upon the Straw.

The placing of men upon the straw: Of those who flayed men, some put on the [flayed] skins. Such were named Xipes. And straw was shaken out, upon which they placed [the Xipes]. Hence was it said that they were set forth upon the straw.

Çacapan nemanalitli

In çacapan nemanalitli, ichoantin in quixipevaia tlaca in imevaio cequjntin conmaqujxia in choatl in motenevaia xixipeme, auh motenezcoaia in çacatl ipan qujvalmanaia ipampa in motenevaia çacapan valnemanalo.

Quickening [the Sun or the Fire].

The quickening was thus done: When the ears were cut, they sputtered the blood upward, [or] perchance sprayed it into the fire. Thus, it was said, they caused the fire and the sun to quicken.

Tlacatlilitli.

In tlacatlilitli ic muchivaia iquac in monacattequja acapa contzcoloaia in cntli anoço tleco contzitzinujujuia inic mjtoaia quincaltia in tletl yoan in tonatiuh.

The Spreading of Grama.

The spreading of grama was thus done: when grama had been plucked, then they were spread everywhere upon the altars. No one, anywhere, failed to do so. This was known as the spreading of things which had been plucked by hand.

Tlamolinonalitli

In tlamolinonalitli inic muchivaia, in iquac omocujio tlamolin, ojpan ic motetema in novjian motenco, acan mocava vel novjian, ichoutl in mjtoaia tlamocujnonalitli.

The Spreading of a Bed of Straw.

The spreading of a bed of straw was thus done: Like the kissing of the earth, it was fitting when anywhere one entered a door where stood the image of the devil. Thus, [when] one entered in his presence, he pulled up straw and shook it out before the devil when he came forth before him.

Neçacuchinonalitli.

In neçacuchinonalitli inic muchivaia çan no iuhqujn in tlalquanalitli ipan pevia in iquac campa qujcovaia in canjo yzuc inapan Diablo inic inpã qujcovaia campa in çacatl inpan contzcoloaia in Diablo, in iquac tlalquan qujçia

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Others followed the roads, and when there was

Oc cequjntin in vel qujcovaia, inil in iquac inic, [785]

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war, they made, as it were, a supplication when anyone went where there was war, lest something might go amiss [with them]. They said:

"Not here shall I die; [it is] in war that I go to die."

And when battle was already joined, they first plucked grass, shook it out toward the sun, and said: "He will destroy and slay [our foe]," or, "He will capture [him]."

In this wise was a prayer raised to the sun.

inhoquiyauh ic nemmatiloia, in iquac oca iauh iovc iuala, ida ic motolinjtinemj quiyauia

amo vncan in nimiquiz, iovc in ximiquiznoh

auh in iiqc ie mochivac iauiuel achto quiyaia in çacatl quiyaxtzalouia in jviepa in tonatiuh quiyauia, vnpopolihuiz y in tlamiquiz, anoço tlamaz

inhoquiz ic motenehtiuia ivic tonatiuh.

The Blowing of Trumpets.

Thus was done the blowing of trumpets: when it was late at night, when it was already approaching midnight, [then it was] when trumpets were sounded, that all [the priests] might offer blood in the house of the devil. Therefore were [the priests] awakened.

Tlatlapizalistli.

Inic mochivia in tlatlapizalistli iquac in ie tlaquauhiovac, in ie onaciuh iovalnepantla iquac tlapizcalo ic nepohoua in jchan Diablo, ic teixiliuia.

The Illumination with Fire.

Thus was done the illumination with fire: when we people had passed [the night until] midnight and also trumpets had been sounded, then were we awakened. Thus those known as the besmers began the keeping of the watch. And if any did not awake, they poured water upon him, or else they shook [coals of] fire upon him, or else they cast him into the water at Tlilapan or at Coapan.

Tlatlacatlavilistli.

Inic mochivia tlatica tlavilistli, in iquac ie tlilaca in iohoalnepantla oacic, no tlapizcalo, ic teixitilo, ic pevaia in tlapialistli motenehoua tlavizquiti, auh in aquin amo veliça xi ipan quinoquiuia, anoço tleil ipã quiyaxtaclouia, anoço atlan contlaçaia vmpa tlilapan, anoço coapan.

The Piercing of Ears.

The piercing of ears was also undertaken [because of] the devil. Hence were ears bored.

Nenecuxpochalistli.

In nenecuxpochalistli no ic tlaiecallhuiloia in Diablo inic nenecuxcoxiuiloia.

The Piercing of the [Lower] Lip.

In like manner the piercing of the [lower] lip: similarly, for the devil, was the boring of the [lower] lip endured.

Nenenpochalistli.

I Çan no inhoqui in nenecuxpochalistli çan no ic tlaiecaxbiloia in Diablo in nenenpochalistli.

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A True [Relation] of how They Prayed to the Devils, and how Oaths Were Made.

When an oath was taken: when anyone made a vow [for] his children before the devils, he made vows in perchance two [samples] or in three of what he would cause to be done for the devils. Maybap his young son had been struck [by sickness]; or, for whatever had befallen, when he made the vow, [he promised] that he would perform penances for them.

And also when an oath was taken, when anyone stood something, in order that he prove it, it was said [to him]:

"That thy words be proved, that thou shalt not lie, do thou kiss the earth."

When, then, he kissed the earth who had stood something, he thus bore witness to his words, and that he not be held as a liar, he said:

"Well do the sun and the earth-goddess know [the truth of this]. Now I kiss the earth [in token of it]."

Thus were oaths taken.

And if [it was] a supplication, it was done with three—the offering of incense, and sacrifices, and the kissing of the earth, and the offering of blood.

Inchoncca in quenjin tlachichilloia ilhiiouan, yoan in quenjin nauhtlaia Juramento.

In iqnac nauhtlaia Juramẽto in iqnac acn quijnotlaia ieucauh *injcpa* Diablome, apo vecan, anoço Eecan quijnotlaia, in tlein quijachiuiliz Diablome, apo motlauiznequj pilhuatli, anoço tlein ipan nauhtlac, iqnac quinotlaiaia, *inje inicpa* tlamacoxcat.

Auh no iuh iqnac nauhtlaia in Juramento in iqnac acn tlein quijnellaiaia, *inje* quijachiliuia, ilhuiltia.

Inje nehin motlauh, inje anno tlatlacatia tlamatilcan.

iqnac ajmo tlalquaia in aquin tlen quijnellaiaia ic quijachiliuia in jtlauel inic anno itlacamachtia quijtoua,

vel quijnaui in tonatiuh, in tlalticxitl ic nemitalquia.

Inhuej in inje nauhtlaia Juramento.

Auh inela tlatlauhtiliztli, ic nauhtlaia çan ixhoual in tlamamaquiliztli, yoan nezcaualiztli, yoi tlalqualiztli, nezcaualiztli.

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7. Praying to Tezcatlipoca (Chapter II)
8. Fir branches on a roadside shrine (Chapter II)
9. Quetzalcoatl performing a penance (Chapter III)
10. Quetzalcoatl looking at midnight (Chapter III)
11. The old man offering the potion to Quetzalcoatl (Chapter IV)
12. Dragging the body of the sinner (Chapter IX)

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heavy pall, or cloth of many colors—which were spread before his face.

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Eclipse of the Sun

When this came to pass, he turned red; he became restless and troubled. He faltered and became very yellow. Then there were a tumult and disorder. All were disquieted, unnerved, frightened. There was weeping. The common folk raised a cry, lifting their voices, making a great din, calling out, shrieking. There was shouting everywhere. People of light complexion[1] were slain [as sacrifices]; captives were killed. All offered their blood; they drew arrows through the lobes of their ears, which had been pierced. And in all the temples there was the singing of fitting chants; there was an uproar; there were war cries. It was then said: "If the eclipse of the sun is complete, it will be dark forever! The demons of darkness will come down; they will eat men!"

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Toxcatlvah speaks.

In iesus: machiton, y, chichiltototonaque: ne tlaca nemj, ne tlaca ca, ca mocuecuepitonemj: cihtlacopeua: ninon ic tlatonemj, tlacatl conanj: nemamauia, nemamajlo, nemamahuilo, nechpopolhuia, tlachiquiztiloa in macuahli: netemipiton, netempapaquilo, tlacoxca, tlacoxcatalo, tzatzilo: cioualli nenotica, Tlacatelolcatca, nahuatlatca, nepan tlachiquiztiloc nemacuitico: nah in tetepan, xoxouhcatca, tlachalantoc, tlacoxcatoc: ic mimiztia, inchi tlamia, in quahtemitah: cenhuiuitoc: cahuitempan, in tlaxitiloni, tepanquini.

1. Tlamatinime, cf. however, the corresponding passage in the Historia (Appendix to this volume), where the phrase is rendered "teachers & scholarly persons [or] wise persons."

into mice; each of their children might turn into a mouse.

And because they feared evil, in order to protect themselves, in order that this might not befall [them], they placed children in their mantles or in their houses, because with this their children was did not be born with mouth eaten away—lipless; or they would not be born with nose eaten away or broken off; or with twisted mouths or lips; or cross-eyed, squint-eyed, or with shrunken eyes; nor would they be born monstrous or imperfect.

This mean those of Xolocan worshipped as a god, and they laid offerings before him and paid him honor.

Auh inic quinnonnotzo: inic nopaliuia, inic amo tehuipul itopil onochioua: ixuli inemac, amoqo inuilli quimilloia: ipapa inic amo tzoncoliuiqui, tzoncoiaqui impilloua: amoqo ixcacoliuiqui, ixcacoxiuiqui, amoqo tzopantiuiqui, tzoncuilliuiqui, ixpatziuiqui, ixocuilliuiqui, ixocaliuiqui: in amoqo ohuicemolo tlacatle, in amo tlacamelaoc.

Inin motoli, ichcan quimotocuiaia in xolocamecca: quinnonnotlilia, quinnotlatlilia.

[p. 10 is blank]

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Third Chapter, which telleth of the stars.

The Fire Drill[7]

When [these] appeared and set forth, incense was offered and burned. Thus was it said when Yoalteuctli [and] Yacauitztli had come forth: "What will the night bring? How will the day break?"

And these were offered incense. Three times was it done: when night fell—well into the night; and when it was time to sleep—the time when the flutes were blown.[8] When this [took place], this was the time for offering their blood and offering maguey spines stained with blood. The third time incense was offered was when it dawned, when the morning broke, when the earth was visible—when morning was near.

And hence was it said that they resembled the fire drill: because when fire was drawn with a drill, and the drill bored, then fell, ignited, and flared the fire.

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And also for this reason all burned [spots on] their wrists; for this reason were we men burned on the wrists, to show awe of him. He was feared and dreaded. It was said and considered of any whose wrists were not burned that on his wrists fire would be drilled in the land of the dead, when he died. Therefore we men—every one—were burned on the wrists. On both sides of each wrist they arranged in order, in rows, the wrist burns. Thus they represented the fire drill. In the same manner as [the stars] were arranged in order and in line, so also they placed in order, in rows, their burns on their wrists.

Inic ey capitolo, intechpa tlatoa: in cicitlaltin.

Mamalhoaztli.

In iconc ualneci, oalmotema: tlenamacoia, tlatzonikiia: ic mimaia, oualuetz in iocaltecutli, in iacauitztli: quen uetzia in iocalli, quen tlathuia.

Auh in hin tlenamacoia, espa in tlachcopa: iconc in tlapoioca, tlaquauh tlapoioca, yoan zetetequizpan, tlatlapitzalizpa. Iconc, y, neçoaia, neuitzmanaloia: ic espa tlenamacoia, iconc in tlauizcalcoa, tlauizcalli moquetza: in tlatlakchipaca, in ic tlathuinaconc.

Auh inic mimaa, mamalhoaztli, itech mocenculia in tlequauitl: ichica, in iconc tlequauhtlaxo, ca momamali in tlequauitl: inic uetzi, inic xotla, inic mopiiza tlexi.

No yoan, inic nemattatiloia: inic momattatiaia toquichtin, ichoatl quimacacia, mimacacia imacaxtia, mjtoaia: quilmach in aquin amo nemattatile, imac tlequauhtlaxoz in mjctlan, in iconc omjc. Ichica in toquichtin, zuchi tlacatl momattatiaia, nenecoc inmac quimjmjpanaia, quintecpanaia in innemattatil: ic quitlachcallhuiaia in mamalhoaztli: in iuh vipantec, tzcpantec, no iuh quimjmjpanaia, quintecpanaia in inmac innemattatil.

[The Morning Star or Great Star]

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Of the morning star, the great star, it was said that when first it emerged and came forth, four times it vanished and disappeared quickly. And afterwards it burst forth completely, took its place in full light,

Citlalpol, uei citlalin mitoa: in iconc inncccan calchoioa, calquiça, nappan polioz, popolihuiaznemi: zuh çatepil uel cuepaia, cempantzinolia, cenpoaica, tlamiica: ialiquin nezcaoa ic tlanezia.

7. The names of various constellations and stars given or later are correspond to the names by which they are now known. In the Spanish text and in the Nahuatl-the new studies, however, Sahagún on some items with the terminology current in his time. See also Plates 1-7, 21.

8. Tlatlapitzalizpa: cf. Arthur J. O. Anderson and Charles E. Dibble: *Florentine Codex*, Book 8, *The Conquerors* (Santa Fe: School of American Research, Monograph No. 14, Part III, and University of Utah, 1951), p. 150; also Simeon, *op. cit.*; Guthrie, *op. cit.*, p. 232. The ceremony called for use of flutes or trumpets, according to Simeon; of flutes, according to Guthrie. Sources vary as to the exact time when these were blown.

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121 become brilliant, and shone white. Like the moon's rays, so did it shine.

And when it newly emerged, much fear came over them; all were frightened. Everywhere the outlets and openings[a] [of houses] were closed up. It was said that perchance [the light] might bring a curse of sickness, something evil, when it came to emerge. But sometimes it was regarded as benevolent.

121 And also [captives] were slain when it emerged, 782 [that] it might be nourished. They sprinkled blood toward it. With the blood of captives they spattered toward it, flipping the middle finger from the thumb; they cast [the blood] as an offering; they raised it in dedication.

Auh in iconc, inacuican cuichcahuc: ohtzc mamiotli motecuin, nemamiohtic: necuin nemamamatia in tlecalli, in pochquiuhcol: mixcoia, apo cecelliqui, ihic aquilli quiquixtiuitz, in oquiçaco: auh in quemman quicuilitzin.

Auh no mixcoia, in iconc cuichcahuc, inxihtlicia, quichacultiuitz: inacapixca in mamahti, cuitlatzinxicuitlaio, cuitlatlatlacatlaio, cuitlaiocuitlaio.

‡ [i.e. The morning star or great star — A.]

a. The corresponding Spanish text translates these as doors and windows. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., XII, p. 29, n. 2.

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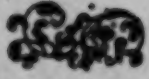

Ninth Chapter, in which is described what was called "The Binding of Our Years," or "When the Years are Bound," [which occurred] when one by one the four sign signs had each reigned thirteen years and when fifty-two years had passed; and what then was done.

When [came] the time of the binding of our years, always they gradually neared and approached [the year] Two Reed. This is to say: they then reached and ended [a period of] fifty-two years. For at that time [these years] were piled up, added one to another, and brought together; wherefore the thirteen-year [cycles] had four times made a circle," as hath been made known. Hence was it said that then were tied and bound our years, and that once again the years were newly laid hold of. When it was evident that the years lay ready to burst into life, everyone took hold of them, so that once more would start forth—once again—another [period of] fifty-two years. Then [the two cycles] might proceed to reach one hundred and four years. It was called "Our Old Age," when twice they had made the round, when twice the times of binding the years had come together.

Behold what was done when the years were bound—when was reached the time when they were to draw the new fire, when now its count was accomplished. First they put out fires everywhere in the country round. And the statues, hewn in either wood or stone, kept in each man's house and regarded as gods, were all cast into the water. Also [were] these [cast away]—the pestles and the [three] hearth stones [upon which the cooking pots rested]; and everywhere there was much sweeping—there was sweeping very clean. Rubbish was thrown out; some lay in any of the houses.

And when they drew the new fire, they drew it there at Uitzilcalco, at midnight, when the night divided in half. They drew it upon the breast of a captive, and it was a well-born one on whose breast [the priest] bored the fire drill. And when a little

Ixic chicuacal cuplehe, vncan mixe: in mixe, tezcacuepilli, anoço ixic malpilia xiuitl: yn iceac motlalcqui omocepa ciuaiuc, yn iuuhxiuitl ceceni xipponlli: ixic ceuxi vmpolxiuitl ipan motlaxiuitl omome, ynan in itzin iceac machiuaya.

Ic vncan, ic ipan in motlaxolpilia: machiqui in quimatiuh, quimitoh in vmc xcal. q. n. Ca vncan ací, vncan ciuatl ompolxiuitl ouallacli, yuh cenxiuitl. Ca vncan mocentlalia, mocenpanoa, mocenmiqui: ixic ceiuiuiuic nenhcampa motlaxiuitl omoty, in iuh omotenoh: ic mixe, vncan molpia, malpilia in tenieh, oc cenpa iuicuican vncan xiuhtzinquiloc: ixic mocencauiuia, in xiuitl iuuac; mochi tlacat cê-quimapoloa, ixic oc cenpa ic ilpoua, oc no inpal xiuitl 52 xiuc, ixic acitiuh mocuilpeuhxiuitl ipan nenhxiuitl: mixe cuc uruetilitli, in aqua tlaiuaiuc, in aqua mocenmiqui inolpilican xiuitl.

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Incequi in machiuia, iceac malpilia xiuitl: in iceac ouiuac, in vncã uetzia tlequemitl, in ic itlapoal-pan: achto vel nenian chiuaia in tlal in tonatiuhicac, ynan in iuquich pielaia techachil, in nenenilia tepuzcalli, in aqo quauitl, anoço tel tlazintli, mochi ellan omotecpanaia: No inhuel in tenalol, in tzacualli, ynan nenian chichiltepanaia, tlaxcacalco, tlatoxac tlaxinc, uetlic uetzia in techachua.

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Ach in vetzia tlequemitl, vmpa in tlacchiuc: iccal-tequitla in vetzia, vel iceac in xolini iocalli: malli in ilpan vetzia, ichcatl in tlequilli ilpan in quimana-lia tlequemitl. Ach in iceac quehuiuan cuetz, in cuep-pin: nimen ic ixiuhca, quehuecuetzoa in malli, cu-

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18. See Illus 18.

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[fire] fell, when it took flame, then speedily [the priest] slashed open the breast of the captive, seized his heart, and quickly cast it there into the fire. Then he revived and fed the fire. And the body of [the captive] all came to an end in the flames. And those who drew fire were exclusively the priests, the fire priests, the drawer. Of the fire priest of Copulco, who was experienced, it was his office to draw, to drill, the new fire.

mjlle in ixille, tlexo cuechtiuetzi: inic quimohio, quichauaco tjtol. Auh in inocaia, çan nenchi tlexo tlami. Auh in tlequamblelçaia, çan ixhuil in tlemacaque, in tlemamacaque, in tlemacochque: cepoloo tlemamacac, in vel inaxia, in inquixhuh catca, in quixhçaia, in quimomalia tlequauiil.

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deep—it was thought—they would turn into mice; they would become mice.

Hence was lord paid only one thing; there was unwavering attention and expectation as all remained facing, with neck craned, the summit of Uhuehcotl. Everyone was apprehensive, waiting until, in time, the new fire might be drawn—until, in good time, [a flame] would leave forth and shine out. And when a little came forth, when it took fire, lit, and blazed, then it flared and burst into flames, and was visible everywhere. It was seen from afar.

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Then all the people quickly cut their ears, and sprinkled the blood repeatedly toward the fire. Although [a child] still lay in the cradle, they also cut his ears, took his blood, and sprinkled it [toward] the fire. Thus, it was said, everyone performed a penance.

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Then [the priests] slashed open [the captive's] breast. In his breast [cavity] the new fire was drawn. They opened the breast of the captive with a flint knife called *itzpanaxc*. Etc.

Ic ya mixcanja, moyecmani in ontlachichinac, in mixtamac, in ihuapechtamac, uiuehcotl itzpa: iquich tlacat ynpa ontlacotoni, tlemamachia, in quiteneja uetzi tlequaxiti, in quiteneja cuicuepani, cuipetzini. Auh in iuuac, oquetzitzin uel uetz, in ouapiz, in oyolic:: çanyan ic cuetlani, cuepani, nouian tlemi, calitto in vlca.

Niman ic nouhi tlacat mocuecuechtiuetzi, cuahtzintzicuiniliz inquichcapa in tleil: in mamel oquiqu omoc no cuecuexanqui, cuecuiliz inicuçe, cuecuiltzicuiniliz in tleil: ic mixtoa, ca nouhi tlacat tlamacaxac,

ic cuechtecqui, in jelpan ontlaquahuiltiaxtic, cuahtzintzicuiniliz in malli, ica tzapatl: itoca itquiuac. etc.°

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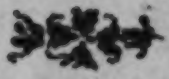

Twelfth Chapter, in which is told [the manner of conduct of] all the people when the new fire was taken. And, when this took place, everyone renewed his clothing and all the household goods.

Then, at this time, all renewed their household goods, the men's array, and the women's array, the mats—the mats of large, fat reeds,—and the seats. All was new which was spread about, as well as the hearth stones and the pestles. Also at this time [the men] were newly dressed and wrapped in capes. A woman—[such as she] dressed newly in their new skirts and shifts.

Then it was said that truly the year newly started. There was much happiness and rejoicing. And they said: "For thus it is ordered; thus sickness and famine have left us." Then incense was offered; [quail] were slaughtered, and incense was offered. They grasped this incense ladle, and raised it in deference to the four directions in the courtyard. Then they cast it into the hearth. Then was incense offered.

Thereupon amaranth and cakes overspread with honey were eaten. Then all were bidden to fast, and [it was ordered] that no one should drink from the time that it was completely light until it came to be considered midday. And when noon came, then capture and ceremonially bathed men died. Then all rejoiced and there was feasting. Then once again foods were newly laid and placed.

And [as for] the pregnant women who had been feasted, if any of them gave birth to and bore a child; if a boy was born as her child, they named him Mixcóatl, Xiuhtlalpol, Xiuhcuitapol, Xiuhtl, Tochtli, Tecpiltzin, Quetzalcóatl, Xiuhpopoca, etc. And if [it was] a girl, Xiuhcuecuel, Xiuhcue, Xiuhcapil, etc.

And when, in the time of Moteuczoma, our years were limited, he ordered that indeed everywhere should be sought a captive whose name [contained the word] xiuitl. Wherever [he was], this one was to be seized. And que was taken—a man from Uexotzinco, a well-born man. He was called Xiuhtlamin,

Inic matlactlomome, cupiztic, vncan mitoa: in quenin in iepoch tlacatl, in iconc omoconic in inocnic tlal: auh in iconc, y, nauhi tlacatl, quiitlallitia in ilaquen, yuan in iepoch calitlaquitl.

Nimon iconc, iepoch inocnitia, in calitlaquitl: . cpiochitlaquitl, in cioatlaquitl, in petlatl, in tolcuetlil, in icpalli: nauhi inocnic in motecca, ioã in tenamastli, in xuchtl. No iquac inocnic nequetzitia, netlalilo in tlimatli: in cioatl, inocnic omomaquia, in iacac, in icuipil.

Ic mitoa, ca nel inocnic cuepon in xiuitl: papaca, motlamachtilo: yuan quimonia, ca ic cupiz, ic omochichiconi in cocoliztli, in mocnelilotli. Nimon ic occopaltemalo, tlacotemalo, tlemamaco: omoxi in temaxtl, nauhcampa conilcoa in itlacolco, çacpan conomatlacoco, inic otlemamaco: copalli:

xiuitl ic ic necpan tzontecomalqualo, vncan ic nequamichtlalhuia, inic nioc otlin, ic centlachia: quincruzmatinia in nequatla tzontli. Auh in oncic, nequatla tzontli, nimon ic mitoa in mamalti, yuan tlaxilihui: quinioc conpapaca, tlilcuecuelo: iconc oc cuppa ilcuican motlilcuecuelhia, motlilcuecuelhtia.

Auh in cinnamitia ceteuí, inelia aca iconc omoxiuh, ceiacachiuh: inelia cquichtli iconcuitlacuc, quinocuitinia mahuili, xiuhtlalpol, xiuhcuitapol, xiuhtl, tochtli, tecpiltzin, quetzalcóatl, xiuhpopoca. Etc.° Auh inelia cioatl, xiuhcuecuel, xiuhcue, xiuhcapol. Etc.°

Auh in iconc, ipan motlatlah motecpanaco, tonatiuh cuepilli ceuca motlatlac ic tlamamati, inic tonatiuh mochi: in iucx xiuitl, in çepa compa itl mana. Auh ce quinoc: quinnotzqui, tlacpilli: iuca xiuhtlamin, tlaxilotlon mochi quichiuh: in tlamamati iuca inimin, auh ic nonotlac, ic nitotlac xiuhtlamimini: ca ihcuel

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3/4 [See cat. 116, p. 27 — Analyst]

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and became a captive at Tlatilolco. The captor was named Itzcuin, and henceforth he was known as and called "Captor of Xiuhtlamin."[11] For on the breast of his captive foe was drawn by the drill, and all his body was consumed in the fire. And they made [the victim's] image of pure amaranth seed dough, so that it might represent him; they set cooked grains of maize upon it, so that they could give it to the people to eat.

ixpan were, in tlapanitl imal, auchi tlaco tlan in jmacxio: auh ça tzahuilli, inic quiniqtaiaoz, in ipan quiquah: tlachpaniuh ipan quiztiuh, inic quinquah.

11. In the corresponding Spanish text, Sahagún writes: "Los mandó un hombre de esotras, muy ganoso el qual se decía, según después se supo en la guerra, un soldado de Tlatilulco, que cada año hacían por la qual despues le llamaron a él, xiuhtlamaniani. . . ." In Italics, op. cit., p. 79, the passage is translated: "Und einer kam zu ihnen hinzu aus Tlatelolco, dieser hiess anschliessend Xiuhtlamani mit Namen, aus Tlatelolco, der zum Kriegsdienstgehen der Männer starken, der damals hier und der Anwesenheit der Herren wirklich und Xiuhtlamanani genannt wurde."

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THE SEVENTH BOOK TREATETH OF THE SUN, MOON, AND STARS, AND OF THE YEAR OF JUBILEE

EL 7.° LIBRO TRATA DEL SOL Y DE LUNA Y ESTRELLAS Y DEL AÑO DEL JUBILEO.[18]

First Chapter, of the sun.

821 The sun hath the quality of shining and of lighting and of casting rays from himself. He is hot and he roasteth; he maketh one sweat, and turneth a man's body and face dark brown or tawny.

They celebrated a feast to the sun once each year in the sign named Four Olin. And before the feast they fasted four days as the vigil of the feast. And in 821 785 782 this feast of the sun, four times they offered incense and blood from the ears—once at sunrise, another time at midday, at the vesper hour, and when [the sun had] set.

Yxcalloni. t. incalubtaica in noyollo: My heart is calmed, or roasteth, in love. Pret., oincalloh. oncalubticaca.

Vel con tecuanol in ael ocuamiccoh: A whale gave[fed of water] was overturned while being drunk.

El sol tiene propriedad de resplandecer y de alumbrar y de echar rayos de sí. Es caliente y tuesta, hace sudar y hace el cuerpo y la cara de la persona.

Hazian fiesta al sol una vez cada año en el signo que se llama 4. olin. Y antes de la fiesta ayunavan quatro dias como vigilia de la fiesta. Y en esta fiesta del sol ofrecian encienso y sangre de las orejas quatro veces: una en saliendo el sol, otra al medio dia, y a la hora de visperas y quando se ponia.

33.
yxcalloni. t. incalubtaca yn noyollo. refrigerar o declinar mi coraçon en el amor. pt.° oincalloh. oncalubticaca.

34.
Vel con tecuanol yn ael ocuamiccoh. trastornose una nacre dura borracha.

18. Sahagún (Bravo) Tratados cit., Vol. VI, pp. 177-205.

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821 And when he came forth in the morning, they said: "Now the sun worketh his work. How will it be? What will come to pass on this day?"

And at sunset they said: "The sun hath ended his work, or task." Sometimes when the sun riseth, he seemeth blood-coloured; and at times whitish; and sometimes he riseth sickly-hued because of the mist or the clouds which cover him.

Y quando a la mañana salia decian ya comiença el sol su obra que sera, que acontecera *i* este dia.

Y a la puesta del sol, decian acabo su obra, o su tarea el sol. A las veces qñ sale el sol parece de color de sangre: y a las veces parece blanquezino: y a las veces sale de color enfermizo por rason de las nieblas o de las nubes que se le atpanā.

When the sun is eclipsed, he turneth red; it seemeth that the sun becometh disquieted, or troubled; or he sweateth or and fro, or he stirreth. And he turneth very yellow.

Quando se eclipsa el sol parece colorado parece que se desasiega o se turba el sol, o se remeça, o rebuelue y amarillecese mucho.

821 When the people see this, they then raise a tumult.
785 And a great fear taketh them, and then the women weep aloud. And the men cry out, [at the same time] striking their mouths with [the palms of] their hands. And everywhere great shouts and cries and howls were raised. And then they loosed one man of fair hair and white face; and they sacrificed them to the sun. And also they sacrificed captives, and they anointed themselves with the blood of their [own] ears. And, besides, they loosed [the hides of]

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Quando esto ve la gente luego se alborota.
Y semalen gran temor, y luego las mugeres lloran a vozes. Y los hombres dan grita hiriendo las bocas con la mano. Y en todas partes se daná grandes bozes y gritos, y alaridos. Y luego buscavan los hombres de cabellos blancos y caras blancas: y los sacrificavan al sol. Y tambien sacrificavan captivos y se vntavā con la sangre de las orejas: y tambien agujeravan las orejas con puntas de magueí y ponian ofrendas o cosa semejante por los agujeros q̄ las puntas avian

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their ears with magney spines and passed flexible twigs or the like through the holes which the spines had made. And then, in all the temples, they sang and sounded [musical instruments], making a great din. And they said: "If the sun becometh completely eclipsed, nevermore will he give light; eternal darkness will fall, and the demons will come down. They will come to eat us!"

hechos. Y luego por todos los templos cantauan y tañian haziendo gran ruido. Y dezian si del todo se acaba de eclipsar el sol nunca mas alumbrara ponerse han perpetuas tinieblas y descenderan los demonios vendran nos a comer.

821

Second Chapter.

When the moon newly appeareth, he seemeth like a thin, little curve of wire. He doth not yet shine. By little and little he goeth growing. On the fifteenth day he is full. And when now he is full, he cometh forth in the east at sunset. He seemeth like a great millstone—very round and very red. And as he goeth rising, he becometh white or shining. [There is what] looketh like a rabbit in the middle of him. And if there are no clouds he shineth almost like the

Capítulo Segúdo

Quando la luna nuevamẽte nace, parece como vn arquito de alambre delgado: no no resplandece: poco a poco va creciendo. A los quinze dias es llena. Y q̃ñ ya es llena sale por el oriente a la puesta del sol: parece como vna rueda de molino grande muy redonda y muy colorada. Y q̃ñ va subiendo se pone blanca o resplandeciente: parece como vn conejo en medio della. Y si no ay nubes resplandece casi como el sol, casi como de dia. Y d'spues de llena cũpli-

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13. Ice, snow, and hail
14. Storing food against famine
15. Delivering children into bondage
16. Boring new fire on the breast of a sacrificial victim

—After Paso y Troncoso

17. New fire in the temples
18. New fire taken to houses
19. Breaking and throwing away household goods at the end of the fifty-two-year cycle

[p. 38 (E)]

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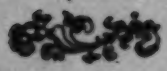

Third Chapter, of the Stars Called Castor and Pollux.

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These people paid particular reverence and [made] special sacrifices to Castor and Pollux, in the sky, which move near the Pleiades, which are in the sign of Taurus. They made these sacrifices and ceremonies when [the stars] newly appeared to the east after sunset. After having offered incense, they said: "Now [hath] Youlocuili come forth, and Yacanitli. What will come to pass this night? Or what end will the night have—fortunate or adverse?" Three times they offered incense (and [this] must be because they are three stars), the first time at the first quarter of the night, another time at ten, and the third [time] when it beginneth to be morning.—They name these stars mamalhuaztli, and by that same name they call the sticks with which they drill a fire; because it seemeth to them that they somewhat resemble [the stars] and that from them there came to them this manner of producing fire. From this it was customary that the

Hazia esta gente particular reverencia y particulares sacrificios a los vasallos del cielo q̃ andã cerca de las cabrillas que es en el signo del toro. hazian estos sacrificios y cerimonias q̃n nuevamente parecia por el oriente despues de la puesta del sol. Despues de auer ofrecidole encienso, dezian ya salido youlocuili y yacanitli, que acontecera esta noche o que fin abra la noche prospero o aduerso. Tres veces ofrecian encienso y deue ser porque ellas son tres estrellas. la vna vez a p'ma noche. la otra vez a hora de las diez. la 3ª quando começa amanecer.—llaman a estas estrellas mamalhuaztli y por este mismo nõbre llaman a los palos con q̃ hazen lumbre porq̃ les parece q̃ tienen alguna semejança cõ ellas y que de allí les vino esta manera de sacar fuego. De aquí tomaron por costumbre de hazer vnas quemaduras en la nuca los varones a manera de aquellas estrellas. Dezian que el q̃ no fuese señalado de aquellas que-

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954
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---Ober Pass y Treasure

(Sources (concluded)). 61. Two-headed snake (Chapter 6).

62. Spaniards looking on the coast (Chapter 7). 63. Game of parcheesi (Chapter 10). 64. Rolling a log on the soles of one's feet (Chapter 10). 65. Animals kept by the ruler (Chapter 10). 66. Judgment and punishment of misdemeanors—Tlaxcalan (Chapter 14). 67. Same—Otomi-Acolhuan (Chapter 14). 68. Same—Tenochcan (Chapter 14). 69. Merchants (Chapter 14). 70. Army and equipment for the dance (Chapter 14). 71. The ruler's animals (Chapter 14).

[p. 36(6)]

[p. 36(F) is blank]

6: Sahagún M-S (1529-1590) 1954
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—Mex. Past y Presente

79. Warriors in battle array (Chapter 17). 80. Conquest of a city (Chapter 17). 81. Sacrifice of a war captive (Chapter 17). 82-84. Indigo (Chapter 17). 85. A wind (Chapter 17).

[p. 36(K)]

[p. 36(J) is blank]

And at the time when the captive was to die, then

782 Moctezuma presented the captor a device [with]
293 quetzal feather cups so that possessing it he might
727 slay him as a sacrifice. It did not belong to him; but having it he slew the victim, and he fenced with it. He had his rattle stick with him, or the obsidian butterfly or quetzal feather cup [device] set with gold, which he carried upon his back. Possessing it, he slew him as an offering.

796 And the captive he then took there where he was
727 to die, upon the round sacrificial stone; he proceeded to take the captive by the head, and lead him up there where they would slay him in the gladiatorial sacrifice. The one known as Old Wolf led him by the hand—he in whose care lay the captives, as if they had become his sons. And then he gave [the victim] his four *panc cuāuhtli*, which he would hurl at his adversaries. And he gave him his shield, and his war club—not edged with obsidian blades but only pasted with feathers.

[793] And those who contended against him in gladiatorial sacrifice were the fire priests and the [other] priests. And the captor remained standing below; he stood regarding his captive. He who died was indeed before [his captor].

[273] And after this, when the Old Wolf had arrayed the captive, thereupon he went, and gave him to drink wine which was called the gods' wine. He took it to him [in] a vessel [painted like] reeds and edged with feathers. When [the victim] had drunk, then he raised [the wine] in dedication [toward] where the sun came forth. So [Old Wolf] did with all the shields and war clubs; he raised all of them as offerings which he gave the captive. When Old Wolf had offered the captive [wine] and made him drink it, thereupon the slayer of the sacrificial victim went forth in order to sacrifice him. [He had] his shield and his war club edged with obsidian blades and covered with feathers.

And when he had drunk, then he struck at the captive, who likewise struck back. And if the captive were of stout heart, if he were verily a chieftain, really manly, perhaps three or four men fought him. Then, when he fell, they indeed slew him as a sacrifice. And if he were not manly, not a chieftain, then he cast himself there on the round sacrificial stone, and did not fight. Forthwith was he stretched out upon his back, and then they gashed open his breast, seized his heart, and raised it in dedication there [toward] where the sun came forth.

nimā̄ ye ic quīmaca in motecxiquimo in tlamāuh quetzalcoāuitl inic ypan tlamictin. auh uel yuh panāa çan ipan tlamictia. ypan mānia ychicuaz yeiuh. auhcan itzpapalotl. auhcan quetzalcoāuitl tecuitlayo in q'mamaa in ipan tlamictia.

auh i yeuatl malli. nimā̄ ic quīxica in ompa miquiz tenalacac icpac cuāuhli cuitlehcoāuia, in oncan q'mahuaxanqa malli. ynic conāua ytoca cuitlachtlac. in ioāc onacitinaca mamalti inhq'nez ypilhuā quinchiuaya. Auh nimā̄ cōmaca ỹ yocotecuitlauh nenhuiti inic q'momotlaz tlaxaxaq', yuan q'maca ychimal ymacquauh. auh tenitzyo çan tlapotonilli.

Auh y yeuantin in teuaxaxaya in tlelcuāuhcacqz in tlamacazqz. auh in tlamani çan moquetzitzac tlaxintlan quitztzac in iual. uel ipā im miq'.

Auh ỹ ye ihuipā in oc[illegible]cauh malli in cuitlachtlac, nimā̄ ye ic yauh quitia in octli mihtoaya tlaoctli. inic quinq' acatecoxaui tlatemportonilli. in ōya. nimā̄ ic conitua in ompa ualquiça tonatiuh mochi ish q'chiua in chimalli im macquauid mach coniaua. inic cōmaca malli. auh in oconiti cuitlachtlac. nimā̄ ye ic yauh in tlamicti inic q'nauaxaz ychimal ymacquauh yeiuh tenitzyo tlapotonilli

auh in ōya. nimā̄ ic cōuinq' im malli. auh no q'uallpinequi auh intla yollo chicaoac im malli inda uel tlacauh ỹ uel oq'chli. aço yey tlacatl anoço nanā tlacatl in q'moyolcuchia. q'niquac uel q'mictia in ouilhuetz. auh intlacamo oq'chli intlacamo tlacauh çan nimā̄ ẽnoteca in oncan tenalacac anno ontlachicoua çan icuhca onmaquetzticca nimā̄ ic conchuq' [illegible]llia in iyollo coxinxilia in tonatiuh. ompa tonq'ya

686 marvels. Where, in truth, [may we turn], O our lord?"

Then [the messengers] commanded those who watched; they said to those at the head of the guard: "Even though he despatch, tell him: 'Lo, they whom thou hast sent over the water have come!'"

And when they went to tell him, then he replied: "I shall not hear it here; I shall hear it in the Cocalli. There let them go." And he commanded and said: "Let two captives be covered with chalk."

727 782 202

And then the messengers went to the Cocalli,[1] and also the noble Moctezuma himself.

Thereupon, before them, were slain the captives; they slashed open their breasts; they sprinkled the messengers with their blood. For this reason did they so do: that they had traveled into very perilous places; that they had gone to see — had looked into the faces and at the hands of, and had verily spoken to — the gods.

Niman quinnácatique in quipia in jtzontlan tlapia quimanjllujque intla mocochitia xicmolhujlican ca ovallaque in tiquinmotitlanj ati itic.

Auh in ocmjhujo: njman quioalito. Amo njcan njccaquja, vmpa njccaquja in cocalco, ma vmpa vian, yuan callaxoati: quioalito: ma ontetiçavilo in nemalti.

Auh njman vmpa iaque in cocalco in titlanti: no iehoatl in motecuçomatzin,

njmal ic ic imixpan mjcoa quimelretequj in mamalti, in jnetzo ic quimonatzelhujaia in titlanti (ipampa in jnh quichiuhque in, ca cenca ovican in ovia ca oquimjtato, imixco imjcpac otlachiato, vel oquinnotzque in teteu.

1. Cf Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., VIII — Bingo and Lamb, p. 44.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

103 Valle de Bravo (12) and Villa Victoria (13) have likewise been added.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 [114] *Mitepec* is given in the usually reliable *Mendocino* interpretation, but no trace of such a town has been found. On the other hand, "Tlacotepec" (the *Matricula* version) is well known, and appears in the conquest lists of Axayacatl, who took all of this region. Tlacotepec, therefore, has been placed on the map.

Teotenanco retained its name as late as 1582, as we see in the relación of that year.[100] Most of these *teo-* prefixes have been dropped, or supplanted by *huey-*, as remarked above.[101]

Tepemaxalco appears in 1582 as a town a league north of Teotenanco.[102] In the 1921 census it figures as a pueblo of the Municipio de San Antonio la Isla. However, only the latter (as La Isla) is on the 1927 map.

Valle de Bravo has been added from Brand's Tarascan map.

Villa Victoria is likewise added from Brand.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

101 197 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The name of the province (Matlatzinca) and its people (who did not speak Mexican, but an Otomían language) seems to have come from *matlatl*, "net." Sahagún tries out various etymologies[103] and finally decides that "they are called net [people] .... because when they sacrificed anyone to their idol they threw him into a net, and there twisted and squeezed him in the said net until his intestines came out." The Matlatzinca are sometimes included among the Eight Tribes whom the Culhua Mexica met at the start of their migration. Matlatzinca-speakers were scattered far into Michoacan, where the village of Charo, northeast of Morelia, was still called San Miguel de Charo Matlatzinco in the eighteenth century. Westerly contacts and migrations were continued in the latter part of the fifteenth century, as has been mentioned above. The most southerly point in which the Matlatzinca have been noted by the writer is Cocolan, in the province of Tepequacuilco, where their tongue was spoken jointly with Cohuixco in the 1580's.[104]

[100] *PNE*, 7: 1–7.
[101] See p. 23 above.
[102] *PNE*, 7: 4.
[103] *Op. cit.*, III: 127.
[104] *Relación de Iguala* (1931), p. 222.

10:Deevey N-4 (no date)1957 NU7 Aztec NU7

823 neighbors demonstrated practical control over the lacustrine as well as other components of their environment.

127 133 At the time of the Conquest, according to extensive researches summarized by Orozco y Berra (1864), Maudslay (1908, 1910, in the 2nd and 3rd volumes of the Hakluyt Society edition of Bernal Diaz del Castillo), and especially by Schilling (1939) and Linné (1948), the Valley lakes were more or less one continuous sheet of water. Schilling's series of sketch maps is reproduced in Figure 1. Cortés, in his second [312] letter to Charles V (MacNutt edition, 1908, vol. 1), speaks of two lakes, because Lake Texcoco, the lowest-lying and most saline body of water, was separated from the freshwater portions by a great dike, the *albarradón* of Nezahualcóyotl. The Valley lakes of course were without outlet to the sea, and the drainage operations that began in the late 16th century and were made effective only in 1900 were devoted to the northward diversion of Lake Zumpango, regarded as the source of the most dangerous floods, to the Río Tula. The 16th-century historians believed that Texcoco had a subterranean outlet to the sea by way of a spring in the valley of Tula. Pomar (García Icazbalceta's edition, 1891, p. 38) claimed to have seen it, while Sahagún (Robredo edition, vol. 3, [782] p. 298) described the "whirlpool" in the center of the lake as the scene where small boys were sacrificed every year. It is reasonable to suppose that the legend of the outlet was believed by the acculturated Indians, but it does not follow that the educated Aztecs believed it.

127 133 312 The "Lake of Mexico" of the historical sources is usually the freshwater part that surrounded the Aztec capital, Tenochtitlán. This part is now dry, as is the southernmost lake of Chalco. Dikes that served as causeways connected Tenochtitlán with the mainland, but the most important dike from the hydrographic standpoint was that of Nezahualcóyotl, which lay to the east of the city. According to tradition, the dike was built by the king of Texcoco in 1446, during the reign of Montezuma I. It was 16 km long, and required the labor of 20,000 men. The reason given for its construction was to protect the Aztec capital from floods, though it is not clear why a Texcocan king should have contributed so generously to his rival's advantage. Of the advan- [241] tage, however, there can be no doubt. All of the southern valley floor, from Chalco to Tenochtitlán, was doubtless covered with *chinampas*, 127 the artificial islands that have been called "floating gardens" since the 133 days of the imaginative 18th century historian Clavijero. Floods along 731 the course of this drainage would on the whole have been beneficial, though inconvenient; the real danger threatened from the Texcoco side, whence salt water, driven by freshets or seiches[1] might disastrously drown the *chinampas*. Freshets that brought large river fish through

[1] [i.e., an oscillation of the surface of a lake lasting from a few minutes to several hours, thought to be due to inequalities of atmospheric pressure. —Analyst]

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us around him, and three chieftains and two priests came at once, and they said—" Malinche, forgive us for not coming to Tlaxcala to see you and to bring food, it was not for want of good will but because Mase Escasi and Xicotenga and all Tlaxcala are our enemies, and have said many evil things of us and of the Great Montezuma our Prince, and as though what they said were not enough, they now have the boldness, under your protection, to come armed into our city, and we beg you as a favour to order them to return to their own country, or at least to stay outside in the fields and not to enter our city in such a manner." But as for us they said that we were very welcome. 648

As our Captain saw that what they said was reasonable, he at once sent Pedro de Alvarado and Cristóbal de Olid, the Quartermaster, to ask the Tlaxcalans to put up their huts and ranchos there in the fields, and not to enter the city with us, excepting those who were carrying the cannon, and our friends from Cempoala, and he told them to explain to the Tlaxcalans that the reason why he asked them to do so was that all the Caciques and priests were afraid of them, and that when we left Cholula on our way to Mexico we would send to summon them, and that they were not to be annoyed at what he was doing. When the people of Cholula knew what Cortés had done, they appeared to be much more at ease.

Then Cortés began to make a speech to them, saying that our Lord and King, whose vassals we were, had very great power and held beneath his sway many great princes and Caciques, and that he had sent us to these countries to give them warning, and command them not to worship Idols, nor sacrifice human beings, or eat their flesh, or practice sodomy or other uncleanness, and as the road to Mexico, whither we were going to speak with the Great Montezuma, passed by there, and there was no other shorter road, we had come to visit their city and to treat 648 797 [782 266] [838]

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of us that they could [capture] bound to Mexico. And he sent grand promises together with many presents of jewels and cloths, also a golden drum, and he also sent word to the priests of the city that they were to retain twenty of us to sacrifice to their idols.

All was in readiness and the warriors whom Montezuma quickly sent were stationed in some ranchos and some rocky thickets about half a league from Cholula and some were already posted within the houses, and all had their arms ready for use, and had built up breastworks on the *Azoteas* and had dug holes and ditches in the streets so as to impede the horsemen, and they had already filled some houses with long poles and leather collars and cords with which they were to bind us and lead us to Mexico; but our Lord God so ordained that all their plots should be turned against them.

Let us leave this now and go back to say that when, as I have said, they had taken us to our quarters they fed us very well for the first two days, and although we saw them so peacefully inclined, we never gave up our good custom of keeping fully prepared, and on the third day they neither gave us anything to eat nor did any of the Caciques or priests make their appearance, and if any Indians came to look at us, they did not approach us, but remained some distance off, laughing at us as though mocking us. When our Captain saw this, he told our interpreters Doña Marina and Jerónimo de Aguilar to tell the Ambassadors of the Great Montezuma, who remained with us, to order the Caciques to bring some food, but all they brought was water and fire wood, and the old men who brought it said that there was no more maize.

That same day other Ambassadors arrived from Montezuma, and joined those who were already with us and they said to Cortés, very impudently, that their Prince had

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721 783 believed they would do as he told them and would come.

Cortés at once told him to go, and that his companion should await his return. So the priests departed and summoned the Cacique and chieftains who returned in his 721 company to Cortés' quarters. Cortés asked them, through our interpreters, what it was they were afraid of, and why they had not given us anything to eat, and said that if our presence in their city were an annoyance to them, we wished to leave the next day for Mexico to see and speak to the Lord Monteruma, and he asked them to provide carriers for the transport of the baggage and *tepuzques* (which are the cannon) and to send us some food at once.

The Cacique was so embarrassed that he could hardly speak, he said that they would look for the food, but their Lord Monteruma had sent to tell them not to give us any, and was not willing that we should proceed any further.

721 While this conversation was taking place, three of our friends, the Cempoala Indians, came in and said secretly to 725 Cortés, that close by where we were quartered they had found holes dug in the streets, covered over with wood and earth, so that without careful examination one could not see them, that they had removed the earth from above one of the holes and found it full of sharp pointed stakes to kill the horses when they galloped, and that the *Anoteas* had breastworks of *adobes*[1] and were piled up with stones, and certainly this was not done with good intent for they also found barricades of thick timbers in another street. At 721 this moment eight Tlaxcalans arrived, from the Indians 782 whom we had left outside in the fields with orders that they were not to enter Cholula, and they said to Cortés—

[1] Sun-dried bricks.

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721 "Take heed, Malinche, for this City is ill disposed, and we
782 know that this night they have sacrificed to their Idol, which is the God of War, seven persons, five of them children, so that the God may give them victory over you, and we have further seen that they are moving all their baggage and women and children out of the city." When
721 Cortés heard this, he immediately sent these Tlaxcalans back to their Captains, with orders to be fully prepared if we should send to summon them, and he turned to speak to the Cacique, priests and chieftains of Cholula and told them to have no fear and show no alarm, but to remember the obedience which they had promised to him, and not to swerve from it, lest he should have to chastise them. That he had already told them that we wished to set out on the morrow and that he had need of two thousand[1] warriors from the city to accompany us, just as the Tlaxcalans had provided them, for they were necessary on the road. They
721 replied that the men would be given, and asked leave to go
723 at once to get them ready, and they went away very well contented, for they thought that between the warriors with whom they were to supply us, and the regiments sent by Montezuma, which were hidden in the rocky thickets and barrancas, we could not escape death or capture, for the horses would not be able to charge on account of certain breastworks and barricades which they immediately advised the troops to construct, so that only a narrow lane would be left through which it would be impossible for us to pass. They warned the Mexicans to be in readiness as we intended to start on the next day and told them that they were going to give us two thousand[2] warriors to accompany us, so that as we marched along, off our guard, between the two forces our capture would

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[1] "Blotted out "three or four."—G. G.

[2] Blotted out "four."—G. G.

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reputation for valour before, (for they had heard of the wars at Potonchan and Tabasco, of Cingapacinga and Tlaxcala, and they called us Téules, which is to call us gods or evil things), from now on they took us for sorcerers, and said that no evil that was planned against us could be so hidden from us that it did not come to our knowledge, and on this account they showed us good will.

I think that the curious reader must be already satiated hearing this story about Cholula and I wish that I had finished writing about it, but I cannot avoid calling to mind the prisons of thick wooden beams which we found in the city, which were full of Indians and boys being fattened so that they could be sacrificed and their flesh eaten. We broke open all these prisons, and Cortés ordered all the Indian prisoners that were confined within them to return to their native countries, and with threats he ordered the Caciques and captains and priests of the city not to imprison any more Indians in that way, and not to eat human flesh. They promised not to do so, but what use were such promises? as they never kept them.

Let us anticipate and say that these were the great cruelties that the Bishop of Chiapas, Fray Bartolomé de las Casas, wrote about and never ceased talking about, asserting that for no reason whatever, or only for our pastime and because we wanted to, we inflicted that punishment, and he even says it so artfully in his book that he would make those believe, who neither saw it themselves, nor know about it, that these and other cruelties about which he writes were true (as he states them) while it is altogether the reverse of true.[1] It did not happen as he describes it. Let the monks of the order of Santo Domingo see what they can read in the book in which he has written it, and

[1] Blotted out in the original: "I beg your Lordship's pardon for stating it so clearly."—G. G.

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231 136 *Quezales*, and there are other birds which have feathers of five colours—green, red, white, yellow and blue; I don't remember what they are called; then there were parrots of many different colours, and there are so many of them that I forget their names, not to mention the beautifully marked ducks and other larger ones like them. From all these birds they plucked the feathers when the time was right to do so, and the feathers grew again. All the birds that I have spoken about breed in these houses, and in the setting season certain Indian men and women who look after the birds, place the eggs under them and clean the nests and feed them, so that each kind of bird has its proper food. In this house that I have spoken of there is a great tank of fresh water and in it there are other sorts of birds with long stilted legs, with body, wings and tail all red; I don't know their names, but in the Island of Cuba they are called *Ypiris*, and there are others something like them, and there are also in that tank many other kinds of birds which always live in the water.

[346] Let us leave this and go on to another great house, where they keep many Idols, and they say that they are their fierce gods, and with them many kinds of carnivorous beasts of prey, tigers and two kinds of lions, and animals something like wolves which in this country they call jackals and foxes, and other smaller carnivorous animals, and all these carnivores they feed with flesh, and the greater number of them breed in the house. They give ● 782 them as food deer and fowls, dogs and other things which they are used to hunt, and I have heard it said that they feed them on the bodies of the Indians who have been sacrificed. It is in this way: you have already heard me say that when they sacrifice a wretched Indian they saw open the chest with stone knives and hasten to tear out the palpitating heart and blood, and offer it to their Idols 782 266 in whose name the sacrifice is made. Then they cut off

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the thighs, arms and head and eat the former at feasts and banquets, and the head they hang up on some beams, and the body of the man sacrificed is not eaten but given to these fierce animals. They also have in that cursed house many vipers and poisonous snakes which carry on their tails things that sound like bells. These are the worst vipers of all, and they keep them in jars and great pottery vessels with many feathers, and there they lay their eggs and rear their young, and they give them to eat the bodies of the Indians who have been sacrificed, and the flesh of dogs which they are in the habit of breeding. We even knew for certain that when they drove us out of Mexico and killed over eight hundred of our soldiers that they fed those fierce animals and snakes for many days on their bodies, as I will relate at the proper time and season. And those snakes and wild beasts were dedicated to those savage Idols, so that they might keep them company.

Let me speak now of the infernal noise when the lions and tigers roared and the jackals and the foxes howled and the serpents hissed, it was horrible to listen to and it seemed like a hell. Let us go on and speak of the skilled workmen he [Montezuma] employed in every craft that was practised among them. We will begin with lapidaries and workers in gold and silver and all the hollow work, which even the great goldsmiths in Spain were forced to admire, and of these there were a great number of the best in a town named Atzcapotzalco,[1] a league from Mexico. Then for working precious stones and chalchihuites, which are like emeralds, there were other great artists. Let us go on to the great craftsmen in feather work, and painters and sculptors who were most refined; from what we see of their work to-day we can form a

[1] Escapuçalco in the text.

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apart from the great Cue there was another small tower which was also an Idol house, or a true hell, for it had at the opening of one gate a most terrible mouth such as they depict, saying that such there are in hell. The mouth was open with great fangs to devour souls, and here too were some groups of devils and bodies of serpents close to the door, and a little way off was a place of sacrifice all blood-stained and black with smoke, and encrusted with blood, and there were many great ollas and cántaros and tinajas[1] of water inside the house, for it was here that they cooked the flesh of the unfortunate Indians who were sacrificed, which was eaten by the priests. There were also near the place of sacrifice many large knives and chopping blocks, such as those on which they cut up meat in the slaughter houses. Then behind that cursed house, some distance away from it, were some great piles of firewood, and not far from them a large tank of water which rises and falls, the water coming through a tube from the covered channel which enters the city from Chapultepec. I always called that house "the Infernal Regions."

Let us go on beyond the court to another Cue where the great Mexican princes were buried, where also there were many Idols, and all was full of blood and smoke, and it had other doorways with hellish figures, and then near that Cue was another full of skulls and large bones arranged in perfect order, which one could look at but could not count, for there were too many of them. The skulls were by themselves and the bones in separate piles. In that place there were other Idols, and in every house or Cue or oratory that I have mentioned there were priests with long robes of black cloth and long hoods like those of the Dominicans, and slightly resembling those of the Canons. The hair

[1] Names of various large pottery vessels for holding water and cooking.

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for each one, and they turned out to be as good and fast as though they had taken a month to set up the models, for Martin López was a past master of the art, and it was he who afterwards built the thirteen sloops to aid in capturing Mexico, as I shall relate further on; he was also a good soldier in war time.

Let us leave this and say that Montezuma told Cortés that he wished to go to his temples and make sacrifices, and pay the devotion to his gods that it was his duty to do, so that his Captains and chieftains might observe it, especially certain nephews of his, who came every day to tell him that they wished to free him and to attack us, and he answered them, that it pleased him to be with us, so they should think it was as he had told them, that his God Huichilobos had commanded him to stay with us, as he had made them believe before. Cortés replied that as to this permission he asked for, he should beware not to do anything for which he might lose his life, and so as to prevent any disorders, or commands to his Captains or priests either to release him, or attack us, he would send Captains and soldiers [with him] who would immediately stab him to death, should any change be noticed in his bearing. He might go and welcome, but must not sacrifice any human beings, for that was a great offence against the true God, that was to the God we were preaching to him about, and there stood our altars and the image of Our Lady, before whom he could pray. Montezuma said that he would not sacrifice a single human being, and he set off in his rich litter in great state with many great Caciques in his company as was his custom, and they carried his insignia in front of him in the form of a sort of staff or rod, which was the sign that his royal person was going that way (just as they do [now] to the Viceroys of New Spain). There went with him as a guard four of our Captains, namely, Juan Velásquez de Leon, Pedro de

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
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Alvarado, Alonzo de Ávila and Francisco de Lugo and one hundred and fifty soldiers, and the Padre de la Merced also went with us to stop the sacrifice if he should offer human beings. So we went to the Cue of Huichilobos and when we came near to that cursed temple, he [Montezuma] ordered them to take him from his litter and he was carried on the shoulders of his nephews and of other Caciques until he arrived at the temple; as I have already stated, as he went through the streets all the chieftains cast down their eyes and never looked at his face. When we arrived at the foot of the steps leading to the oratory there were many priests waiting to help him with their arms in the ascent.

There had already been sacrificed the night before four Indians, and in spite of what our Captain said and the dissuasions of the Padre de la Merced, he paid no heed but persisted in killing men and boys to accomplish his sacrifice, and we could do nothing at that time only pretend not to notice it, for Mexico and the other great cities were very ready to rebel under the nephews of Montezuma, as I shall explain further on. When he [Montezuma] had completed his sacrifices, and he did not tarry much in making them, we returned with him to our quarters, and he was very cheerful, and gave presents of golden jewels to us soldiers who had accompanied him.

Let us leave this here, and I will relate what next happened.

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

646 The existence of this council as
642 a *supreme* authority, proves the Mexicans to have been, not *subject* to the despotic rule of a monarch, but *organized* after the principles of a *military democracy*. They were a barbarous but *free* and *warlike* community.

721 *Legitimate* causes for war were frequently furnished to the Mexicans. Their traders, or those of allied or subjected tribes, were often exposed to outrage and ill-treatment on the part of and among foreign "pueblos." Such acts were always regarded as justifying open warfare, and the opportunity was speedily improved. But *pretexts*[128] were eagerly sought for also, and the Mexicans therefore never at a loss to find *some* ground for pouncing upon any tribe which excited their cupidity. We have already stated that war was carried on by them for subsistence. It
[782] was further required for the purpose of obtaining human victims, their religion demanding human sacrifices at least eighteen times every year.[129] Every important event, like an improvement of the "teo-calli,"[130] and especially the installation of a new war-chief of the highest degree ("Tlaca-tecuhtli"), had to be celebrated by a special butchery of men,—and these victims had to be obtained through *war*.[131] Therefore the well-known custom of the Mexi-
[724] cans, on the battlefield, to look more to the *capture* than to the slaying of their foes.[132]

[128] The war which resulted in the conquest of Chalco, the foray against Ahuilizapan (Orizava) and Cempoal, were all brought about by the most wanton provocations on the part of the Mexicans (Tezozomoc, Cap. XIX, p. 80; cap. XXI, p. 83; cap. XXXI, p. 48). (Torquemada, Lib. II, cap. XL, p. 139.) (Clavigero, Lib. IV, cap. XIII.) Durán positively denies it, saying that the Mexicans never made war unless provoked, but this is too manifestly untrue (Gomara, p. 442).

[129] These were the regular monthly festivals only.

[130] Durán (Cap. XXXVII, p. 287), when the war against Mechoacan was determined upon: "and that the main reason why he wished to measure himself with their strength "was to try to celebrate with them (by the means of prisoners taken from them) the in- "auguration of the stone, that was similar to the sun, and to tinge his temple with the "blood of these nations." Gomara ("De las guerras," p. 442, Vedia, I, "y para, como "ellos dicen, haber esclavos que sacrificar á los dioses y cebar á los soldados").

[131] It was obligatory upon the chieftain to inaugurate his administration with a military exploit, and great importance was placed upon that the head-chief should make prisoners on that occasion with his own hands. Acosta (Lib. VI, cap. XXIV, p. 431). Tezozomoc (Cap. LVII, p. 93; cap. LXI, p. 101; cap. LXXXIV, p. 147). These three passages relate to Tizoczic, to Ahuitzotl, and to the last Montezuma, respectively.) Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXVII, pp. 131, 132, and 133). Torquemada (Lib. II, cap. LV, p. 172, and cap. LXIX, p. 196).

[132] This was a very fatal custom, as against the Spaniards. Had the Mexicans been intent upon *killing* instead of overpowering their white enemies alive, their resistance would have been more formidable. Thus, for the sake of capturing a single horseman, they recklessly sacrificed numbers of their own, when they thought to be able to surround him, and cut him off from his corps or detachment. The custom was, however, general among the Nahuatlac tribes.

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

nite, owing, in part, to the treasure-seeking propensities of the Spanish immigrants as well as to the diligence of the clergy in obliterating all objects to which the aborigines attached superstitious notions.

For the same reason we refrain here from entering into a detailed account of the customs of worship. Still we feel obliged to state that the feature of "separate religious rites"[113] so characteristic of society based upon kin, is plainly visible among the ancient Mexicans. There are some very remarkable evidences of this, to which we must allude.

It has already been established at the outset, that each calpulli had "its particular god," which was worshipped, as a tutelar deity, within the territory of that calpulli. Consequently each kin had its particular medicine-lodge or temple.[114] Besides, the last one of the seventy-eight places into which Father Sahagun subdivides the great central "teo-calli" of the tribe, is described by him as follows:

"The seventy-eighth edifice was named *calpulli*, these were small buildings enclosing the inside of the square, these little houses they called *calpulli*, and there the principals and officials of the republic gathered, to do penance for four days preceding each festival occurring at twenty days interval. Their vigils thus lasted four days, during which time some of them ate at midnight and others at noon."[115]

This statement, which is confirmed (according to the learned Jesuit John Eusebius Nieremberg)[116] by the celebrated physician and naturalist Francisco Hernandez, is followed by another one, not less important, also of Sahagun:

"They offered up many things in the houses which they called "calpulli," which were like churches of the quarters, where those of the same gathered, as well for to sacrifice, as for other ceremonies they were wont to perform."[117]

Thus the right of the kin to "separate worship" appears not

[113] "*Ancient Society*" (p. 71).

[114] Besides the positive assertions of *Sahagun* (Lib. II, Appendix, p. 211. Lib. I, cap. XIX, p. 31): "se ponian en una de las casas de oracion que tenian en los barrios que ellos llamaban calpulli, que quiere decir iglesia del barrio ó parroquia" and (Lib. II, cap. XXXVII, etc.), we have also the testimony of *Durán* (Cap. V, pp. 42 and 43, and Cap. IX, pp. 79 and 80), and *Oviedo* (Lib. XXXIII, cap. X, p. 302).

[115] "*Historia general*," (Lib. II, Appendix, p. 211).

[116] "*Historia naturae*," (Lib. VIII, cap. XXII, p. 168).

[117] "*Historia general*," (Lib. II, Appendix, p. 211. See note 114).

787 was chaste and conscientious; who was audacious, who saved all, who sought his sustenance; who planned, sought, and watched for that which might alleviate, for that which he might lay hand on in the near future, and for what he might offer his children; for what might be obtained, and what he could quickly seize if sickness and misfortune came.

Thus, everywhere he watched for, considered, and sought whatsoever he might use as merchandise, whatsoever his manner of wares might be; whatsoever he might live by, by which he might increase and augment his goods and his gains.

And this one emerged, and rose to honor, if he deliberated well, and was attentive, not resentful of criticism, nor lazy. The counsel with which he was counseled and the rearing with which he was reared took effect; he seized and held fast to it. And if he was made fun of, he took no revenge; he made no reprisals. He returned nothing in kind.

[684 565] And if a woman were then born, it likewise befell her as hath been said and told above. If a noblewoman was an adulteress, her head was crushed between two stones so that she died. And only in misery and affliction was she given to dwell. She encountered misery and want. Nowhere on earth was her face radiant; nowhere on earth was she [of any account]; nowhere was she regarded; nowhere did she hold a husband. Thus was it stated: "Just so is her nature; so is her life; so her birthright; and so her day sign. Thus, on such [a day], was she bathed; at such a time was she born. Monstrous was her day sign; a wild beast was she; hers was the day of the wild beast, etc."

●782 821 And they venerated Four Movement as a day sign. Thus did they say, that it was the day sign of the sun. Moctezuma paid great honor to it. When it was this day, when Four Movement set in, they slew quail and offered incense before the image of the sun; they placed on it what was known as the spreading red arara feather device. And at noon captives died and were slain [as sacrifices].

787 And for him who was then born, no [true sign] appeared. In two ways might it fall. They said that if it were a man, he might either take captives or die in war. As they said, "With this the sun is nourished." Hence everyone did penances when it was this sign. At this time all came together from all parts; none remained or did otherwise. Verily, everyone — men, women, children — cut their ears and

vmpilcatoc, in jaqujch caana, in qujtemoa in jcochca, yn jneuhca, in qujlnamjquj, in conjttilia, in contlachielia, tle itech vmpatiz, tle itech ontlaanaz in macujl, in matlac, tlē qujmonmacaz in jpilhoan, çan onmaçoaz, tlē concujtivetziz in ooalla cocolixtli icnoiotl:

ic noviiampa mjxtia tlanemjlia, qujtemoa, in tlein qujmoñanauhtiz, in catleoatl inanauh vmmuchioaz, in tlein vel ic onnemjz, ic onmacoquetzaz, ic ontlapiujaz itlatquj icnopillouh.

Joan iehoatl qujçaia, panvētzia, in vel monotza, in tlacacquj, in amo qujquammati, qujtemati in onotzaloca, izcalıloca, içan itech qujpachoa, içan qujmacuj, qujmapiquj: auh intla ica necacaiaoalo, amo qujtecuepilixia, amo qujcuepcaiotia, atle ic qujlochtia.

Auh intla çioatl ipan otlacat: no iuhquj ipan muchioaia, in tlacpac omjto, omoteneuh: intla cioapilli tetlāximaia, quatepipitzinjloia injc mjquja: auh çan icnoiotica, cococaiotica, in monenemjtiaja, icnoiotl, netolinjliztli qujtztinemj, ācan ixtona in tlalticpac, ācan tlalticpac ca, ācan motztica, ācan vel oquichpia: ic mjtoaia, ca njman iuh quja, iuhquj iioliliz, iuhquj itlacatiliz, iuhquj itonal, iuhquj ipan malti, iuhcan tlacat, ā[…]

Auh in naolin qujtonaltiaia: iuh qujtoaia, itonal in tonatiuh, cenca qujmavizilixia in Motecuçuma: yn jquac, y, moquetzaia naolin, tlacotonaia, tlenamacaia, yn ixpan ixiptla tonatiuh, qujtlaliaia itoca cueçaltonameiotl: auh in nepantla tonatiuh, mjquja, mjctiloia, in mamalti:

auh in aquin ipan tlacatia, atle vel inezca, vme vitz qujtoa. Yntla oquichtli aço tlamaz, anoço iaomjquja: in iuh qujtoaia, ca ica mozcaltia in tonatiuh, ic muchi tlacatl tlamaceoaia. yn jquac, y in vncā, y, cenvetzi, ipanoca, aiac mocaoa, aiac ixcavi, vel mochi tlacatl in oquichtli, in çioatl, in piltzintli, monacaztequia, mjçoia, mjtoaia: ic izcaltilo in tonatiuh.

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drew blood. It was said: "Thus was the sun nourished."

And Seven Flower was said [to be] good and bad. As a good [sign], in certain places the scribes paid it honor and were devoted to it. They set up its image and made offerings to it. Also those women who were embroiderers and cotton thread workers first fasted for eighty days; some fasted for forty or twenty days, when penance was done. Thus they requested of it that what they undertook might be well done; [that] their embroidery or design might be a work of art well fabricated and well painted. All therefore offered incense and slew quail; and all bathed and sprinkled themselves with water, when [the fasting] had been lifted. Then the feast of the day sign, Seven Flower, was celebrated.

And they said when it was not a good [day sign], that if some embroiderer broke her fasting — it was said — then she merited for herself infamy and an ill name. Thus she could only live in vice and become a harlot. For it was said the embroiderers lived in great vice and became terrible whores.

It was said the one who was their goddess, named Xochiquetzal, made sport of and mocked her. And she gave and thus scourged her with piles and infections.

But she who did well her penances, who took heed, and so then attained success, was esteemed, and gained honor for herself. In [all] places she was looked to; by the grace of the people, she lived well on earth.

Also it was said of this [day sign] that he who was born on it would perform all crafts well: he would be a good craftsman; he would plan well great works; he would constantly be prudent, if he took good heed. But if he did not take good heed, nothing resulted; he deserved nothing. He only merited the infamy with which he was defamed and the mockery with which he was mocked.

And Nine Wind was said to be wholly and entirely evil. As to him who was then born, nothing could be made of his life; so nothing would be retained; he could hold nothing; nothing would be kept; nothing would appear; he could do nothing; he was incapable on earth. He was as one driven by the winds, wandering here and there. He might wish to be something, to be someone: he became only nothing. For truly so was his day sign. He might wish for public esteem — to become a mer-

Auh in chicome xochitl: mjtoaia qualli, ioã âquall: ynic qualli ceccan vncã tlamaviztliaia, motemachiaia, in tlacujloque, qujtlaliaia yxiptla, qujtlamanjliaia: no iehoan in cioa tlãmachchiuhque, icpachiuhque, achtopa qujneçaviliaia, nappoaltica, ace vmpoaltica, cempoaltica in moçaoaia: ic qujtlaitlanjliaia, injc itla vel aizque mjmatizque, toltecatizque, vellalalizque, vellacujlozque: in jpan intlamach, intlacuilol: ic mochintin tlenamacaia, tlacotonaia: auh mochintin mãaltiaia, maujujxoaia, yn jquac neoalco, in vncan ilhujquiztililoia, chicome xochitl:

787x 782 286 785

auh injc amo qualli, mitoaia, iquac intla aça tlãmachchiuhquj, yneçaoaliz qujtlacoaia, mjtoa: vncã qujmomacevia avilquizcaiotl, aviltocaitl: injc çã âavilnemjz, âavienjtiz, ca mjtoa, tlaquauh avilnemja, mãaviltiaia in tlamachchiuhque,

787x 286 785 548

qujlmach iehoatl inca mocaiaoaia, qujquequeloaia in intecuh catca, itoca xochiquetzal, ioan qujtemacaia, ic temotlaia, xochiciujztli, palanjliztli:

787x 286 796

auh in aqujn vel ontlamaceoa in vel monotza, ca oncã qujçaia, maviztia, momavizçotiaia, cana motztica, vel moietztica tepaltzinco in tſc:

787x 286

no iuhquj ipan mitoaia in aqujn ipan tlacati, moch vel qujchioaz in toltecaiotl, vel tôtoltecatiz, tlatlanemjliz, iõiolizmatquj iez, intla uel monotzaz: auh intlacamo vel monotza, atle onqujçaia, atle icnopil, çan iaujlqujzca, iquequeloloca in qujmomacevia.

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Auh in chicunavi hecatl: mjtoaia, motqujtica, moch centlantica amo qualli: in aqujn ipan tlacati, atle vel muchioa yn jnemjliz, atle vel ic tlaçaloia, atle vel ic tlaana, atle vel ic tlatzicoa, atle ivelneaca, atle veli, atle veliti in tlaticpac, çan iuhqujn ecatocotinemj, avic iatinemj, conmonectia in ma itlati, in ma acati, çan atleti: ca nel iuhquj itonal, conjxtoca, ipan onmjxpoã, in ma pupuchtecati, in manoce cujcujcanjti, teaachti, tetlâtlavicalti, tecâcamanalhuj. Etc. atle veliti, çan tlaqualania, çan nõia motlatlamotla, mone-

X 787 And if it were a noblewoman, or only a common [woman], who was then born, so likewise it was her lot. She was considered as a man, esteemed as if a man; a comforter. Hence she caused others no apprehension, was not negligent, and did not dishearten others.

And also it was said that one who was born upon this [day sign], One Deer — it was told that he was exceedingly timorous; he lived thinking only of his fears; he walked with his terrors, and only lived afraid, indeed frightened to death. When he witnessed a thunder clap, or a bolt of lightning, or lightning flash — a flash of lightning — then he could not endure it. Indeed the lightning and thundering frightened him and caused him to be in terror and dread.

And so they said that sometimes, on some occasions, it happened to him; for his fear followed him and persisted with him; his fears came upon him as a judgment. For his dread came upon him. Verily, he was struck by lightning; that befell him which he feared and of which he lived in anxiety. And even if it was summer, he was still smitten by a summer flash. Also, when he bathed in the water, there he died, drowned; his eyes were torn out;[2] his finger nails were removed and torn out.

Hence was it said: "Verily, so was his lot; so was he born. Even as the deer is a great coward, just so was he, whose day sign this is, a great coward; fearful." So seldom did his kin, his parents, trouble themselves; they did nothing for him.

776 And also it was told that then, too, was one of
●782 the times when those known as the Goddesses descended. They made offerings to them, and then they clothed [their images] in their paper vestments and their paper adornments.

Auh intla çioapilli: anoço çā maceoalli ipan tlacatia, no iuh mâceoale catca, teoquiçhtlamachti: iuhquin oquichpovi, teacotlaz, atle ic tenentlamachti, amo tenmachonj, amo tecuetlazo.

Auh no ioan mjtoa: in aquin ipan tlacati ce maçatl: quilmach cēca momauhtiaia, çan jmaviz in quimattinenca, çan imauhcac in nemja, çan mamauhcanenca, vel iolmiquja, in iquac quicaquja tlatlatzinjliztli, anoço tlavitequjliztli, tlapetlanaliztli, tlapetlanjllotl: njman âconiccoaia, vel quiçaviaia, quicuicuitiuetziltia, quimavizcuitia in onotlapetlan, onotlatlatzin.

Auh iuh quitoa, in quēman, in quenmanjan ça ipan neltiaia, ca imaviz contocaia, ipā ontlamelaoa, ça imaviz quitlamachiliaia, ca inemauhtil ipan oniauh, vel vitecoia, ipan muchicaia in quimacaci, in quimamattinemj. Auh intlacanelmo xopantla, çan tonalhuiteco: no ioan in iquac atlan maltia, vncan mjquja, ilaquilo, ixtelolococopinalo, iztitlatlaxo, iztlcocopinalo,

ic mjtoa, ca nel iuhquj itonal, iuhquj ipan motlacatili: in iuhquj maçatl, cenca momauhtianj: çan no iuhquj in aquin itonal catca, vel mauhca tlacatl, mavitzoco: ic çanyca mellaquaoa, in joaniolque, in jtaoan, aquē commatia.

Auh ioan mjtoa: no vncan ceppa ipan temoia, in moteneoa çioateteu: vncan quintlamanjliaia, ioan vncan ic quintlaquentiaia yn jmamatlaquen, in jmamanechichioal

2. Cf. Spanish text.

X 787 **Eighth Chapter**, which telleth of the fifth sign, named One Reed. And it was not a good day, [nor] those with it. It was said that those born then, if they were born in the ninth house, named Nine Crocodile—they said and it was averred that one would be a slanderer and bearer of false witness. And it was thought that this sign was the day of Quetzalcoatl. Therefore the lords and noblemen then paid their devotions and made offerings.

Injc chicuei capitulo: itechpa tlatoa, injc macujltetl machiotl, in jtoca ce acatl: auh amo qualli tonalli in jtech ca, qujlmach in aqujque vncan tlacatia, intla vncan tlacatia, injc chicunauhtetl calli, in jtoca chicunavi cipactli: qujtoaia qujlmach cenca techicoitoanj, ioan teteixpanvianj: auh qujlmach injn machiotl, iehoatl itonal in quetzalcoatl: ipampa in tlatoque, in pipilti, vncan muxtlaoaia ioan tlamanaia.

X 787 The day sign One Reed set in. With it were reckoned the evil days, those of an unfavorable time. 805 Following it came Two Ocelot, and Three Eagle, Four Vulture, Five Motion, and Six Flint Knife. These various days were said to be evil, of an unfavorable time.

Moquetza ce acatl tonalli, ic mocempoa in amo qualli, in amo ieccan izqujlhujtl,

qujtoqujlitica yn jpan vme ocelutl, ioan ei quauhtli, navi cozcaquauhtli, macujlli olin, chiquacen tecpatl: in jzqujtetl in tonalli mjtoaia amo qualli, amo ieccan,

X 787 It was held that One Reed was the day sign, the 771 time, of Quetzalcoatl. For Quetzalcoatl represented the wind, and was therefore thought a god. And 778 when the day One Reed set in, the lords and noblemen paid him great honors. They made offerings at the priests' house in the [barrio] known as Mexico.[1] ●782 For there was kept the image of Quetzalcoatl. Before him they arranged and spread offerings. Everything they then prepared for him. They placed on him his various array and paper vestments. And before him they laid out flowers, tobacco, [vessels] full of incense, and drink and food. So they said that then they dedicated and assigned the day sign to Quetzalcoatl.

qujlmach itonal catca itonalpan in quetzalcoatl. Iehica in quetzalcoatl, i ehecatl ipan mjxeoaia, injc tevtocoia: auh in jquac in moquetzaia ce acatl tonalli, cenca tlamaviztiliaia in tlatoque, in pipilti, tlamanaia in calmecac, yn jtocaiocan mexico, ca vncan pialoia in jxiptla Quetzalcoatl, ixpan qujtlatequjliaia, qujtlamâmacaia much iquac qujcencaviliaia, itech qujtlaliliaia, in jzqujtlamantli inechichioal, yn iamatlatquj, ioan ixpan qujtequjliaia suchitl, yetl, qujcopaltemjliaia atl, tlaqualli, qujmanjlia, iuh qujtoaia vncan qujtonaltia, qujtonalquechia in Quetzalcoatl.

X 787 And so they said it was an unfortunate time. He who was then born, whether nobleman or commoner, was of scant merit or deserts. Just as worthless as the wind was his life. It was swept away by the wind. As nothing were his lineage and origin. For in the time of Quetzalcoatl the wind [god] had he been born; for such was his nature. The same befell her if it was a woman.

Auh injc mjtoa: amo ieccan, in aqujn ipan tlacatia pilli, anoço maceoalli, atle cenca imâceoal, ilhujl catca, çan iuhqujn ehecatl ipã povia inemiliz, ẽcatocoia, atle itlaanca, inelhoaio mochioaia: ipampa in jtonalpan quetzalcoatl, ẽcatl otlacat, ca njman iuhcan oquiz, no iuhquj ipan muchioaia, intla çioatl,

1. The *calmecac*, house of priestly learning, is defined as "*lugar de ensaje de la casa' y escuela de nobles*" by Arturo Monzón in *El calpulli en la organización social de los tenochca* (México: Instituto de Historia, 1949), p. 77. There were six, in the noble *calpulli*, probably pertaining to clans (as the term is used by Monzón): Yopico, Huitznahuac, Tlamatzinco, Tlilancalco, Tecpancalco, and Mexico (pp. 47-52).

X787 776 ●782 Ninth Chapter, which telleth of the sixth sign, called One Death, and of the good fortune belonging to it. It was said to be the day sign of Tezcatlipoca. And many were the offerings and blood sacrifices with which they did him honor. And each person provided much pleasure to the slaves.

Injc chicunavi capitulo: itechpa tlatoa, injc chiquacentētl machiōtl, in jtoca ce mjquiztli: ioan in qualli tonalli itech ca, quilmach itonal in Tezcatlipuca: auh mjec in ventli, in nextlaoalli injc quimaviztiliaia, ioan cenca quinpapaquiltiaia in tlatlacoti.

One Death set in. This was said to be a good day sign, but also somewhat bad, as will here appear in its discussion. For it was said that when this occurred, then they honored Tezcatlipoca. The lords greatly venerated [the day sign]. Each one made offerings and beheaded quail at his personal [altar] in his house and in each of the tribal quarters in the temples called *teocalli*.

Moquetza ce mjquiztli: ynjn mjtoaia, qualli tonalli: auh ioan achi amo qualli, in iuh neçiz nican, ipan itlatollo, ca mjtoa in jquac, y, vncan quitonaltiaia in Tezcatlipuca, cenca tlamaviztiliaia, in tlatoque, tlamanaia, tlacotonaia, ceceniaca yn jncalitic, in jmjxcoian in cacalpulco, in moteneoa in teucalli, in teucalco:

Thus did they speak: "This one is he by whom we live, Titlacauan, master of the earth, master of the lords of the earth, who now hath his blessed day."

iuh quitoaia, ca iehoatl in jpal tinemj, in titlacaoan, in tlalticpaque, in tlaltecue, in axcan itonalpantzinco,

For everyone then showed devotion, was humbled, and sorrowed, in order that he would show them favor. And not alone did the lords thus act, but also the brave warriors, the seasoned warriors, and the wealthy, the rich, and he who was wise; for the day sign of Titlacauan had set in. They also observed the day sign and made offerings in his dwelling place in his tribal temple. For this reason they showed great devotion, for this was the time to pray for favors.

ic muchi tlacatl vncan tlatemachiaia, nentlamatia, tlaocuiaia, injc quicneliz: auh amo çanioque in tlatoque, iuh quichioaia, y, no iehoan in tiacaoā, in tequjoaque, ioan in mocujltonoa, in motlacamati, ioan in aquin quimatia, ca itonal moquetza in titlacahoā, no tlatonaltiaia, tlamanaia, in jchā, in jcalpulco: ypampa injc cenca tlatemachiaia, ca vncan tlaitlanjliloia, injc teicneliz:

X787 776 And as for its not being accounted a good and favorable time: there then was fear and dread lest this same one be wrathful and wilful. For thus did they say: "He whom he had favored and honored, and to whom he had revealed his sweetness, fragrance, and mercy, from this same one he might withdraw and remove it." Yet it was not without reason; when [the man] became vain and haughty, he disregarded and neglected what was his birthright. Still [the god] showed compassion and gave it as a gift to the one who sought him diligently and who went about weeping and sighing for his sake. So was it said that everywhere he was awaited; everywhere there was humility and sorrow before him. Nowhere was the dwelling place of the war [god]

auh injc amo qualcan, ieccan, ipan machoia, ca vncan nemauhtiloia, ymacaxoia, injc amo çan no iē moçomaz, monenequjz, ca iuh quitoaia, in aquin quicnelia, in oconmaviçolti, in oixpan conquixti, in jtzopelica, in javiiaca, in jtetlaocoliliz: çan no iē conjnailia, conjquanjlia, tel amo çan nen iquac in ie atlamati, in ie cuecuenoti in aoc tle ipan tlatta, conmjxcaoaltia, in jmāceoal, ocatca, oc iē quicnoitta, connemactia, in quitlamatataquilia, in jca chocatinemj, elciciuhtinemj, ic mjtoaia: noviian chialo, noviian ivicpa nentlamacho, tlaocoialo, ācan vel ichan in iaoc Tezcatlipuca: çan jtlān conantinemj in jpetl, jepal:

X787 **Eleventh Chapter,** which telleth of the seventh sign, named One Rain, and of the evil day signs [776] which belonged with it. They said that those then born were sorcerers and soothsayers and demons. — And *tlacatecolotl* meaneth demon. — Almost all the houses belonging to this [sign] were evil and unfavorable. Only the thirteenth was good.[1]

X787 One Rain set in, of which it was said that it was in no way a good day sign. It was full of evil, vice, misery, orphanhood, affliction, suffering, anguish, misfortune, and indigence.

X787 This was because during the time of this day sign, 776 so it was said, then descended those known as the Goddesses, inhuman ones, mockers of the people. Hence most sternly [parents] commanded their children not to go out; not to travel along the roads. They should only remain at home. Thus did they speak to them: "Go not forth. You will encounter the Princesses, for they descend and arrive upon earth." Hence the fathers regarded them with fear, lest one of [the children] might develop misshapen lips, or crossed eyes, or a hare lip, or be possessed.

778 When this [day came], everywhere in the Goddesses' sanctuaries and temples — everywhere offer- 782 ings were made. For in every single place stood a temple of Goddesses, in each neighborhood,[2] there at crossroads. They covered with white streamers each of the images which were there — five [figures] of stone, placed in a row, their faces rubbed and painted with liquid rubber. He who made a vow to them covered them at the time of their descent, at the time of their day count, on the day sign of their descent. As many of them as there were he covered with white paper streamers.

Injc matlactli oce capitulo: itechpa tlatoa, injc chicontetl machiotl, in jtoca ce qujavitl: ioan in amo qualli tonalli, in jtech catca: quilmach in aqujque vncan tlacatia, nanaoalti catca, ioan tetlachivianj, tlatlacatecolo: auh in tlacatecolotl, ca iehoatl qujtoznequj in Diablo, achi muchi in calli itech pouhquj, in amo qualli, in amo iectli: çanjio inic matlactetl vmey qualli.

Moquetza ce qujáujtl: injn mjtoaia, njman amo qualli tonalli, motqujtica teuhtli, tlaçolli, icnoiotl, icnotlacaiotl, tlaciaujliztli, tlacococaviliztli, teopoubcaiotl, atle onqujçaliztli, atle oneoatinemjliztli:

ipampa in jpan, y, tonalli, iuh mjtoa: ca vncan temoia, in moteneoa cioateteo, âtlacacemelleque, teca mocaiaoanj: ic cenca qujntlaquauhnaoatiaia, in tepilhoan, in aiac qujçaz, aiac vtli qujtocaz: çan cali onozque: iuh qujmjlhujaia maca xonqujçaca, anmotenamjctizque, ca temo, ca tlalpan açi in çioapipilti: ic qujntlamauhcaittiliaia in tetaoan: injc amo aca tennecujliviz, ixnecujliujz, tenpatziujz, itech qujneuaz:

in jquac in, in noviian çioateupan, çioateucalli, noujian tlamanaloia, ca noviian cecentetl mãcə, in çioateucalli, cecentlaxillacalpã vncan in omaxac, teteujtl qujmonquequentia, in vmpa catca, ymjxiptlaoan, macujlteme in teme, tecpantoca, tlaoltzaoalti, moolzauhque in aqujn ivicpa monetoltiaia, qujntlaquentia yn jquac in intemoia, yn jntlapoalpan, in jpan tonalli temoia, izqujteme amatetebjtl qujnquentia.

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1. The Spanish text reads, in part: *"los que en este signo nacen, son nigromanticos, brujos, hechizeros, enhaydores. Es de notar, que este vocablo diabolo, propiamente quiere desir, nigromantico, o brujo: impropiamente es uso, por diablo: casi todos los caen deste signo: eran de mala digestion. Pero la decima cuenta, y la seteia decima cuen, uniformemente I todos los signos: eran felices."* See Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, Book XII, "The Conquest of Mexico," p. 21, nn. 1, 2, 3, on *nonalli*, *diabolo*, and *tlatlacatecolo*. Depending upon the context, we have at times translated *diabolo* as demon.

2. *Ibid.*, Book VIII, "Kings and Lords," p. 58, n. 13.

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A 787 was not hopeless. This one the readers of the day signs thus sought out so that they might then somewhat better the day sign of the one born on One Grass.

778 And the day sign Two Reed, which followed, they
● 782 said was a very good day sign; because also at that time they honored Texcatlipoca Titlacauan by placing the image of [a god] called Omacatl. In the same manner [as Texcatlipoca][4] was the face painted; they ornamented it when they placed it.

And whosoever wished to place the image of Omacatl guarded it in his home for two hundred [days]. He placed it on the day sign Two Reed. And if he who placed it did something well, that is, if now his goods and possessions increased and appeared, no more did he wish to relinquish it. He just placed and introduced it permanently into his home, and guarded it for a long time.

And if now he wished to abandon it, and no longer to guard it, he likewise abandoned it on the day sign Two Reed. This same one chose his day sign; on [the day sign] in which he had placed it, on it likewise he abandoned it. He left it there at his temple in the tribal district of Omacatl, and went offering it incense. And there, to take it, would go he who earlier had wished to guard it in his home. The old men of the tribal district accompanied it with song; the [new] householder served food to the people; there was feasting and drinking in his home. And when it grew dark there was drunkenness. In the same way was the placing and termination. Then was the breaking off and the finishing; then they observed the two hundred days of guarding it in one's home when [the image] entered as well as when it left.

X 787 And, it was said, he who was then born, they said, would become rich and wealthy. And well would he gain his livelihood. What he might do would not fail. He would find his consolation.

And on Four Eagle, and Five Vulture, and Six Motion, so it was said, these various day signs were in no way good. They were always as hath been said. For him who was then born, his fate, his gifts, were the same: misery. He lived given to talking; he would bear false witness; accusations were made; there were outcries; among others he lived in vice, corruption, and evil, as hath already in many places

liaia tonalpouhque, injc achi vncan quiçqualiliaia itonal, in jpan tlacatia ce malinalli.

Auh in qujtoquilia, vme acatl tonalli qujtooia vel qualli in tonalli: ipampa ca no vncan qujtoonahuia yn Texcatlipoca, titlacaoa, injc qujtlaliaia ixiptla itoca Omacatl: çan no ivi in mjchioaia, ic qujchichioaia, injc qujtlaliaia:

auh in aquin quinequja, qujtlaliaia in jxiptla Omacatl, matlacpoaltica in quipiaia ychan, ipan in qujtlaliaia, vme acatl tonalli, auh intla ie itla vel maaila, in aquin oquitlali, qujtoznequj: intla ie tlapiuja, ixneçi, iaxca itlatquj, aocmo qujcaoalitztlamatia, çan qujcentlaliaia, qujcencalaqujaia in jchan, vecaultica qujpiaia:

auh intla ie oquinec in qujcaoaz, in aocmo qujpiaz: çan no ipan in qujcaoaia vme acatl tonalli, çan iee qujmattiuja in jtonal, ipan in qujtlaliaia, no ipan in qujcaoaia: vmpa concaoaia in jteupan, in jcalpulco omacatl, qujtlenamaquilitiuh: auh vmpa canatiuh, in aquin oc ie oquinec, qujpiaz ichan, qujcujcatiaia in calpuleque, ic tetlatlaqualtia in chane, tlatlaqualo, aatlioa, yn jchan: auh in oiooac tlatlaoano, çan ie iuh tlatlaiilli, çan ie iuh tlatecolli, çan vncan tectica, çan ie vncan tlantica, çan ie vncan qujmatiaia, in matlacpoaltica pialoia techan iquac calaquja, no iquac qujçaia:

auh mjtoa: in aquin ipan tlacatia, qujtooia mocujltonoz, motlacamatiz, ioan vel muchioaz in jnetlaiecoltiliz, in tlein maailiz, amo nenquiçaz, vel qujmaz in jneiollaliliz.

Auh yn jpan nauj quauhtli, yoan macujlli cozcaquauhtli, yoan chiquacen olin, iuh mjtoa: njman amo tle qualli in jxqujteti yn, tonalli, çan muchipa iuh mjtoa: in aquin ipan tlacatia, çan yee in jlhuil, inemac in netolinjlistli, yoan tlatolli cololhuiztinemj, tetlatolevia, yoan tlatolevilo, oiovilo, tenepantla quitlalitinemj in xixtli, cujtlatl, in aqualli: in juhquj ye mjeccan omoteneuh. Auh in oc nen ic qujqualtiliaia

4. At this place in the *Real Palacio* MS a marginal note in Sahagún's hand reads: *"de la ceremonia de la yma[g]n de Tezcatlipuca."*

X 787 Twenty-first Chapter, which telleth of the tenth
776 sign, called One Flint Knife. And it was said that it was of good fortune, and claimed that those then born were brave and became seasoned warriors. And it was said that the women then born were forceful; they were able in all things and made their goods very well. And it was said to be the day sign of Uitzilopochtli, to whom it was dedicated. His domain was war. It was said also to be the day sign of Camaxtli. And when this sign began, they observed the feast [of Uitzilopochtli]. And it was said that all the day signs were good — [all] thirteen.

Injc cempoalli oce capitulo: itechpa tlatoa, injc matlactetl machiotl, in jtoca ce tecpatl: ioan qujl qualli in jtonallo, auh qujl in aqujque vncan tlacatia chicaoaque catca, ioan tequjoacatia: auh qujl in cion vncan tlacatia oqujchiolloque catca, muchi in veli catca, cenca uel qujnextiaia in jntlatquj: auh qujl itonal catca in Vitzilopuchtli, in jtech poulquj catca, in jtequjuh catca iiaoiotl, qujl no itonal in Camaxtle: auh in jquac vmpeoaia injn machiotl, qujlhujquixtiliaia, auh qujl muchi qualli catca in jzqujlhujtl, matlaqujlhujtl vmei.

776 One Flint Knife set in. On this One Flint Knife,
782 when it tarried for a day, they then made offerings to Uitzilopochtli, whose day sign it was, and to Camaxtli, god of the Uexotzinca.

Moquetza ce tecpatl: inin ce tecpatl, in jquac tlacemilhujtiltiaia, vncan quitonaltiaia, ytonalpan catca in Vitzilopuchtli, ioan in camaxtle, vexotzinca inteouh,

776 Thus it is said they made offerings and paid great
782 honor [to Uitzilopochtli] there at his temple, in his
776 tribal district, at the place whose name was Tlacatecco. There was his image guarded, and all his array. They had it all spread out before him and laid in the sun; they offered incense and presented him[1] what were called the quetzal feather cape, the blue cotinga feather cape, the red spoonbill feather cape, the yellow parrot feather cape, and the humming bird feather cape.[2] But only after them came
[825] last the no longer very precious feathers, like the white heron feather cape or the reed thrush feather cape.[3] Severally they laid all of them down, offered them separately, arranged them in rows, placed them in order, etc.

injc mjtoa: qujtonaltiaia, cenca quimavizttiliaia, in vncan ieupan icalpulco in jtocaiocan catca tlacatecco, vncan pieloia in jxiptla in jzqujch itlatquj, much ixpan qujtequjliaia, qujtotonjaia, qujtlenamaqujliaia qujtlacotonjliaia, in moteneoa quetzalquemjtl, xiuhtotoquemjtl, tlauhquecholquemjtl, tozquemjtl, vitzitzilquemjtl, auh ça qujtoqujlia, qujtzacuja, in aocmo cenca tlaçoviztl, in iuhquj azttaquemjtl, tzanaquemjtl: muchi nononqua qujtecaia, qujtlatlamantilia, qujcuecuentilia, qujvivipana. Er[a].

And all these precious capes, when they spread them out, remained there a day. By doing this, it
782 was said, they summed them for Uitzilopochtli. And there offerings were made; there they laid out all the gifts, called fast foods. And all the good, prepared

auh much ie in tlaçotilmatli ipan qujtecaia, vncan oemjlhujtia: iehoatl injc mjtoa qujtlatotonjlia in Vitzilopuchtli, ioan vncan tlamanaloia, vncan qujtecaia in jzqujch ventli, in moteneoa tlacatlaqualli: ioan in jzqujch iectli, in tlachichicalli tlaqualli, in

1. *Quitequjliaia* alternatively could mean "they beheaded quail for him."

2. Corresponding Spanish text: *"unos se llamauan quetzalquemjtl, que quiere decir: capa de quetzales verdes, y resplandeciller: otro se llamauan xiuhtotoquemjtl, que quiere decir: capa de plumas azules, y resplandecientes: otro se llamauan tauquecholl, que quiere decir: capa de plumas amarillas, y resplandecientes: otro se llamauan vitzitzilquemjtl, que quiere decir: capa hecha de plumas resplandecientes de zinzones."*

3. Cf. Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 233. In *ibid.*, p. 160, n. 2, it is jackdaw.

●762 foods came forth from the palace; and from the houses in the commoners' localities they [also] emerged and came forth.

But only for a little while it was, remained, and rested there. Then the old men of the temple district [of Uitzilopochtli] removed, continued to take and transport, divided, and distributed, what pertained to them. They removed it to a number of places. They consumed all. No one remained alone. Everyone came to it: the devout of the place, those who had fasted for a year; those who had danced and fasted for Uitzilopochtli.

[824] And Moctezuma then offered all manner of precious flowers [before the image] — varied flowers which were sweet-smelling and fragrant: magnolia,[4] maize flowers,[5] cacao flowers,[6] popcorn flowers,[7] and garlands of maize ears,[8] which grew everywhere; basket flowers,[9] raven flowers;[10] yellow and blue tobacco flowers;[11] milky corn silk flowers;[12] and all manner of precious flowers, prepared, — well-formed, well-arranged, made as shields of flowers, circular, radiating, and spreading; and the pleasant-smelling ones. It seemed as if the fragrance, the perfume, spread and blanketed his temple.

And so they burned [tubes of] tobacco — only in bundles. First they bound them about the middle. As they burned them, they filled [the area] before [the image].[13] It was as if the smoke arose, spread a cloud, extended, came to settle, and lay billowing.

782 274 Likewise it was said at the time of the day sign One Flint Knife, that the wine-makers showed special concern. At that time they cut and bored

tlatocan calquiçnia: ioan in çan calla, mocxalpã calcaoia, calquiçnia:

auh çan achiton cã, in vncan vmmanj, vncan onoc, vncan onmotoca: niman ic quiquanja çan ic concuj-timanj, ic conjquanjtimanj, intech povi in calpulveuetque, quimonexelhuja, quimonamaca, quecixquican quimjcuanjlia, vntetlamj, ainc itcauj, muchi tlacatl itech aci, in vncan tlamacoubque, in nocexiubçaubque, in itech mjtotinemj, in quineçaujlia Vitzilopochtli:

auh in Motecuçoma in jxquich tlaçonnchitl, in nepapan xochitl, in velic, in aviiac vncan quimana in iolloxochitl, in elxochitl, in cacaoxochitl, in izquixochitl, ioan cacaoacincuzcatl, in isquican icac, oacalxochitl, in cacalonochitl, in coztic iiexochitl, auh in xoxouhquj iiexochitl, in xiloxochitl, ioan in ic ixquich nepapan tlaçoxochitl, in tlamantli, in vellalilli, in tlatecujcujlolli, in mjmati, in chimalxochitl, in ololiuhquj, in momoiaoa, in xexelivi: auh in çaçan tlatlanecutli, iuhquin tlaujaxtoc, tlaueuelixtoc, tlaujaxtimanj, tlaueuelixtimanj, in jxcupan:

auh injc qujtlatiaia iietl, çan ce cemmecatl çan iuh cujtlalpitiuh in qujtlatiaia, contenteuj ixpan, iuhquin puchteoatoc, ainvitl mantoc, ainvitl quixtoc, iuhquin mãnomolocatoc.

No ioan mjtoa in jpan in tonalli ce tecpatl, cenca vncan tlatemachiuia in tlachicoque, vncan quitlapanaia in inmeuh, ic quitemachiuia injc cenca meiac,

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4. *Iolloxochitl* (*Talauma mexicana* D. C. Don) — Mexican magnolia, a flower reserved solely for the nobility. — Emily Walcott Emmart: *The Badianus Manuscript* (*Codex Barberini, Latin, 241*), *Vatican Library. An Aztec Herbal of 1552* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1940), p. 310.

5. *Elxocxitl*: probably *Coix peduncularis* (?) (Emmart, *op. cit.*, p. 275). In Francisco Hernández, *Historia de las plantas de Nueva España* (México: Imprenta Universitaria, 1942), Vol. III, p. 941, it is classed with *yauhtli*. Santamaría, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 598, identifies it as *Maguey doulcino* Zucc.; also called *yolocxitl*.

6. *Cacaoxochitl*: *Theobroma angustifolium* D. C. (a cacao plant). — Emmart, *op. cit.*, p. 311. Hernández, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 921, calls it *Quararibea funebris* (Llave) Standl. See also Santamaría, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 298.

7. *Izquixochitl*: *Bourreria huanita* (La Llave & Lex.) Hemsl. (Emmart, *op. cit.*, p. 275).

8. Cf. Santamaría, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 249.

9. *Uuxuxochitl*: *Xanthosoma* sp. (Emmart, *op. cit.*, p. 234); *Phyllodendron affine*, Hemsl., "Una planta arácea, de las aráceas, cultivada en [México]" (Santamaría, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 1102).

10. *Cuxiloxochitl*: *Plumeria rubra* L., attributed of important personages, according to Sahagún (Emmart, *op. cit.*, p. 308). Hernández, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 806, says *Plumeria acutifolia* Poir, "flor de cuervo."

11. *Yancochitl*: *flor de tabaco* (no botanical name given); "El *Yancochitl*, que algunos llaman chancohitl o *cua flor de chili*, y otros cuauhquiyauchitl o *yancochitl amarillo*" (Hernández, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 941, 942).

12. *Xilonxochitl*: *Bombax ellipticum* H. B. K., according to Hernández, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 455, and Paul C. Standley, "Trees and Shrubs of Mexico," *Contributions from the United States National Herbarium* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1923), pp. 793-794; *Calliandra anomala* (Kunth) McBride, according to Emmart, *op. cit.*, p. 301.

13. *Real Palacio MS*: *contenteuinemi*.

their maguey plants;[14] so they showed special concern in order that their maguey plants would flow much and produce well. And so they offered gifts in the temple of Uitzilopochtli. There they offered their wine, which had been newly brewed, called *aiztli*; they went pouring it into bowls on which rested sucking tubes. And the ones who there partook of it were the already aged, called *quauhcuecpar*, who already had the privilege of drinking wine. These drank; they continued drinking with the sucking tubes.

ontlaiez inmeuh: auh injc tlauenchioaia, in jteupan Vitzilopuchtli: vmpa conmanaia in jmoc, in iancujcan tlachictli, in moteneoa vitztli, acatecomac, contecatimanj: vncan ipan icaca ce piaztli: auh in aqujn vmpa vntlatlapaloaia, in ie chicaoaque, in moteneoa quāveuetque: in ie inꝯmac tlaoanalíztli, iehoan conja, ic conjtimanj in piaztli:

782 ● 274 [888]

And he who was born on this [day], One Flint Knife, they said, would be valiant, a chieftain; he would gain honor and riches.

auh in aqujn ipan tlacatia, y, ce tecpatl qujtoaia, oqujchtiz tiacauhtiz, maujztiz, mocujltonoz:

787 X

Likewise, if it were a woman, she would be of merit, gifted, and deserving. Her labors would be good; there would be wherewith to eat and drink; there would be sustenance. She would become rich and wealthy; courageous, strong, reckoned as a man, and hardy. She would give honor as a man. And, [among] all her gifts, she would speak well, be eloquent, give good counsel, and arrange her conversation and manner of speaking well in her home. She would be observant, of good memory, discreet, etc.

no iuhquj intla çioatl, maçeoale iez, nemaque, ilhujle, vel itla mailiz, oniez in qujquaz, in qujz, vnca qujquanj iez, mocujltonoz, motlacamatiz, ioan oqujchnacaio, chicaoac, oqujchtlamatiz, moqujchpoaz, oqujcheoaz, teoqujchtlamachti iez: ioan much inemac vellatoz, motlatoljmatiz, vel tenonotzaz, vellatoltecpanaz, yeieian, icacatian, in qujtlaliz, tlatolli, vel ixe, iollo, mozcalianj iez. Er[a].

And Two Rain, and Three Flower, Four Crocodile, Five Wind, Six House, Seven Lizard, Eight Serpent, Nine Death, Ten Deer, Eleven Rabbit, Twelve Water, Thirteen Dog—all, in truth all, were as hath been told in their account. All went to be considered and were observed as of, and they followed, the same pattern. They were only one, regarded as only one in their relation and account, as they went in order there day by day, each one of the days in its proper place, so proceeding in order, one, two, three, henceforth[15] until they reached and completed the end of the day count, thirteen.

Auh in vme qujavitl, ioan ei xochitl, nauj cipactli, macujlli ẽcatl, chiquacen calli, chicome cuetzpalin, chicuei coatl, chicunavi mjqujztli, matlactli maçatl, matlactloce tochtli, matlactli omome atl, matlactlomej itzcujntli: in jxqujch in çan moch iuhquj in jtlatollo omjto: çā much umpa itztiuh, çan much vmpa tlachia, çan much vmpa tlaujca, cā ie centetl, çan centetitiuh in jtlatlatollo, in jtoloca, in iuh tecpantiuh, in vncan tlaceceimjlhujtiltitiuj, cecenteme tonaltin, in jnicician ic tecpantiuj in ce, in vme, in ei: ixqujchica, injc onacitiuh, injc ontlatlantiuh tonaltzontli matlatlactlomeci.

14. Corresponding Spanish text: *"Los sembrar de los magueyes, o labrarlos que cerdian al pulque, cantidad, y agujerianse los magueyes: para que mamasen cujal en este dijeron: tenjan que por agujerarlos en este dijeron, no entienden mucho."*

15. Bernardino Biondelli: *Glossarium dictum-Latinum et Latino-dictum* (Mediolani: Valentiae et Mori, 1869), hac usquedum usque huc (henceforth, from here on), for *hactenus*.

[p. 80 is blank]

X 787 Twenty-fifth Chapter, which telleth of the fourteenth sign, called One Dog. This, it was said, was
771, a good day sign; and it was claimed that it was the
666 day of Xiuhtecutli, whom they called Tlalxictentica.[1] They observed a very great feast day for him. And at this time the rulers were elected.[2]

Injc cempoalli on macujlli capitulo: itechpa tlatoa, injc matlactetl onnavi machiotl, in jtoca ce itzcuintli: inin quiimach qualli tonalli, ioan qujl itonal catca, in xiuhtecutli: in quitoaia Tlalxictentica, cenca vei ilhuitl quichioaia: ican ypan motlatocaaltiaia in tlatoque.

X 787 —then set in the one named One Dog. This, they
771 said, was a good day sign. At this time, they dedi-
776 cated the day to [the god of] fire, called Xiuhtecutli.
778 They formed his image there in his temple. There they made offerings to it; before it they decapitated
782 quail and spread incense. They adorned and bedight it in all manner of paper array. The fabrication [of the paper articles] was in charge of those called paper-cutters and designers. They provided it with feathers; they scattered feathers over it; provided it with various kinds of costly feathers and dispersed a variety of them over it. And they provided [the paper array] with green stones. They called the [ceremony] *nexxiaualli*. All the food [and array of] Tlalxictentica[3] they burned before him.

Niman oalmoquetza in jtoca, ce itzcuintli: injn quitoaia qualli tonalli, vncan quitonaltiaia in tlatl, in jtoca Xiuhtecutli: quitlaliaia yztptla in vmpa itenpan: vncan quitlamanjliaia, ixpan tlacotona, copaltema, quichichioa, quicecencaoa, in jxquich amatlatquitl, inmac iecauja in moteneoaia amatecque, amatlamatque, quiviiotiaia, quivitztetzeloa, quinepapaniviiotia, tlaçoiuitica quinepapanivitztetzeloa: ioan quichachalchiuhiotia, quitocaiotia nextlaoalli, itlaqual in tlalxictentica, much ixpan quitlatiaia:

782 And everywhere, in each family which was rich and had become wealthy, those of Pochtlan and Amantlan,[4] they made [the goo] very important. Thus they did him honor: food and drink were provided. There was rejoicing. There were banquets. Very early in the morning, when it was still very early dawn, they burned the paper array. As was said, thus they fed the fire. Incense went with and accompanied [the offerings]. One basket at a time, or two baskets at a time, they cast into the fire clean, white incense. And they decapitated quail. It seemed that before the hearth, they kept fluttering and beating their wings. Their blood was scattered by their fluttering, so that the earth before the hearth was struck in various places. They spattered and poured forth their blood. Likewise they first made a libation of wine before the hearth, and later at each of the four corners of the hearth they made libations.

auh in noviian cecencalpan, in netlacamachoia, in necujltonoloia, in puchtlan, in amantlan: cenca quiveichioaia injc quimaviztiliaia, tlatlaqualoia, aatlicoaia, netlacamacho, necoanotzalo, oc ueca ioac, cenca oc tlaujzcalpan in quitlatiaia amatl, in mjtoa ic quitlamaca tletl, quivicatiuh, quitocatiuh in copalli, cecen petlacalli, ovn petlacalli in contepeoa tleco, chipaoac, iztac copalli: ioan quincotona çoçoltin, iuhquin tlecujlixquac tlãpatlaca, tlapapatlaca, ieço nemamacaoca, tlalli ic neujujteco tlecujlixquac quitzitzicujtza, quinonoquja in jmezço: ioan no achto tlecujlixquac quitotoiaoa in vetli: auh çatepan tlecujlnacazco nauhcampaixti quitotoiaoa:

1. Corresponding Spanish text: *"Este dezian: ser el signo del dios del fuego, llamado Xiuhtecutli, o Tlalxictentica."*
2. *Ibid.*: *"los señores, y principales, que eran elegidos, para regir la republica: hazian la fiesta de su eleccion."*
3. *Ibid.*: *"cuvos de la cautena, quemavan los ofrendas de papel, y papel, dezian: que con estas cosas, dauã de comer al fuego."*
4. Mountain, *op. cit.*, pp. 50, 64, 68: *calpolli* of merchants, feather workers, etc.

782 And the commoners, the poor, only threw coarse incense into the fire. And finally the extremely poor, the poverty-stricken, the needy, the discontented, who came last, only cast aromatic herbs in the fire, thus making the offering in their own fires.[5]

642 And it is said that the lords and rulers were
643 installed then, on the day One Dog; and there was a celebration, the royal ceremony, the rites of election,[6]
431 on Four Reed. At that time the lords over the cities came from everywhere. There was feasting, by which it was made known that the new ruler had been installed. Many came in this manner: as their salutations, their gifts of greeting, they bore and carried wrist bands, capes, flowers, tobacco. For whatsoever their cities were famous and renowned, from wherever and howsoever far they traveled, they offered gifts and paid tribute to the ruler, and greeted him and paid him great respect. Their elders, the lords, the orators, the able speakers, who were seated, returned like for like and answered them for him.

431 And in the same manner was it done and responded. Thus was returned their gratitude, in order to reciprocate, to acknowledge, to welcome, and to provide a repast. Flowers, tobacco, drink, food, and confections were presented. But the capes came in bundles. They were only in bales. Only by the bundle were they given and presented. Each brought out first the precious capes, appropriate to them, the ones to which they were entitled, made and completed in [the ruler's] house. Thereupon they gave them their choice and pleased them. What each thought best, or sought out, or what was fitting for him, or suited his liking, or his rank, they gave the lords over the cities; [the ruler's] servants thus honored and gave preference to each [of the lords] individually.

[482] The gifts hurried, rushed, hastened, and sped borne on their backs, carried and transported by the tump lines. And the leavings, worth nothing, of no value,

auh in çan macecaltzintli, in motolinja, çan copalxalli in tleco qujtema: auh in çe iequene qujzacuja, in molhujicnotlacatl, tequjicnotlacatl, in ilavia, in auellamati: çan ie in jauhtli tleco qujtepeoa, ic qujtlamaca in jxcoian itleuh:

ioan mjtos in tlatoque vncan motecuthaliaia motlatocatlaliaia, in jpan in ce itzcujntli: auh ipan motequaltiaia, motecpacaia, motlatocapacaia, in nauhcatl, iquac noviian oalhuja, in altepetl ipan tlatoque, coanotzalo, ic machitilo in iancujcan tlatoanj onotlali, mjiec injc oalhuj, in jntetlapaloaia, in jntetlapalol qujoalcuj, qujoalitquj in macuextli, in tilmatli, in xuchitl, in jetl, in çaço tlein imamauizço, yximachoca imaltepeuh, in campa, in quexquichca oaleoa, qujtlamamaca, qujtlatequjlia in tlatoanj, ioan qujtlapaloa, qujtlatlauhtia, oalmotialia in jntechiuhcaoan, in tecutlatoque, in vellatoa, in tlatolmati, qujtlacuepilia, qujntlananqujlilia:

auh çan [illegible]uj in chicoalo, in namjco, çan ic mocuepa in jntetlaçotlaliz, injc motlaneuj, injc mjxmati, injc momalcochoa, injc mococochioa, qujmonamaca in xuchitl, in jetl, in atl, in tlaqualli, in tlaqualtectli: auh in tilmatli çan qujqujmjliuhtiuh, çan qujqujmjlictiuh, çan qujmjltica in qujmomaca, in, in qujmotlauhtia, qujiaiacana in tlaçotilmatli, in tetechtilmatli, in vel intonal icaliticc ochicaloc, otlatlan, iquac inpan qujnpepena, inpan qujmuelitta, qujntlatlattilia, qujmjipantia, qujnpapantia, qujnpapanjtia, in quenamj qujnmacazque altepetl ipan tlatoque: injc nononqua qujnmaujztilia, qujnvecapano, intetlaujcalhoan.

tlaliuj, tlâtlaliuj, tlâtlalhujtiuj, tlâtlalioca, in tlamamalo, in tlâtlatqujca, quxquailpitiuh in netlauhtilli: auh in netlacaujlli, âtle tlaçotli, âtlatlaçotli, tla-

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5. Correspondingly Spanish text: *"Los pobres ofrecian sus sensiones, que llaman copalxalli, en su mismo hogar: y los muy pobres, ofrecian una pocca molida, que se llama yauhtli en sus mismos hogares."* — In Sahagún (Garibay ed.), Vol. IV, p. 371, it is *Taquate hueide*; see also J. E. S. Thompson: *Mexico Before Cortez*, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1944), p. 185.

Emmart, *op. cit.*, pp. 239-240, notes that Louis Reiffner, in *La médecine chez les mexicains précolombiens* (Paris: Jouve and Boyer, 1980), p. 95, identifies yauhtli as a species of oleander; A. Gerste, in *Notes sur la médecine et la botanique des anciens mexicains* (Rome: Imprimerie Polyglotte Vaticane, 1909), p. 54, says it is definitely narcotic. Jacinto de la Serna's "Manual de ministros para conocer y extirpar las idolatrías de los indios," in Jacinto de la Serna, Pedro Ponce, and Fr. Pedro de Feria: *Tratado de las idolatrías, supersticiones, dioses, ritos, hechicerías y otras costumbres gentílicas de las razas aborígenes de México* (México: Ediciones Fuente de Cultura, n.d.), p. 249, identifies yauhtli as *perfumes*, which, according to Santamaría, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 298, is *"Nombre vulgar que en el norte del país, en México, se da a una planta parecida al campanillo"* (Tagetes minuta), *cuyas hojas huelen a anís."*

6. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, Book VIII, "Kings and Lords," p. 64. Sahagún (Garibay ed.), VIII, 16, 14: *"la fiesta de su elección, que llamaua motlatocapoca."*

X 787 Thirteenth Chapter, which telleth of the seventeenth sign, called One Water. It was said to be an evil day sign. And it was said of those then born that they rejoiced a little only at the beginning of their lives, and that they ended in evil. And it was said always to be evil when they died. And it was said to be the day sign of Chalchiuitl icue, whose feast day the water folk observed.

Injc cempoalli on matlactli capitulo: itechpa tlatoa, injc cattolli omome machiotl, in jtoca ce atl: qujlmach amo qualli tonalli: auh qujl in aqujque vncan tlacatia, çan ipeuhian in jnnemjliz achi paquja: auh injc tzonqujçaia amo qualli, auh qujlmach mochipa, amo qualli, injc mjquja: auh qujl itonal catca in chalchiujtl icue, qujlhujquiztiliaia in atlaca.

One Water. This One Water, they said, was also evil. And they said it was quite varied, of different qualities, all good or all bad.

Ce atl: injn ce atl: qujtoa, amono qualli: yoan qujtoa, çan chictlapantli, chictlapantica: inquich qualli, inquich amo qualli:

● 782 At this time they made offerings to the one named Chalchiuhtli icue, who represented the water. Especially did the sellers of water, the owners of boats — those who transported water with boats — and those who launched boats, made offerings to her. These formed her image; they set in place the framework [for her image] at her temple, in her tribal district.

vncan qujtonaltiaia: in jtoca chalchiuhtli ycue, in jpan mjxeoaia atl: oc cenca ichoan qujtlamanjliaia, yn anamacaque, in acaleque, acaltica atlacuj, yoan acalquetzque: ichoan quixiptlatiaia qujtlaliaia ycoloio in jteupan, in jcalpulco.

X 787 And thus was it said to be diverse [in fortune], one which could not attain and carry with it very much good. That is to say, of the one then born, very few resulted great and fortunate at this time. For according to his deserts, his day sign, he was only all evil, completely surrounded by vice. And in evil he would go; in it he would die. Perchance somewhere he would be stoned — he would be felled by a stone; or else he would be drowned — he would perish in the water.

Auh injc mjtoa çan chictlapanquj yn amo vel macitica motquitica ic qualli, quitoznequi in aquin ipan tlacatia, çan vej quiçaia cenca çan aca in vncan quiçaia tlacnopilhujani, ca in juh ca vel inmaceoal, itonal çan muchi ẏqualli in cololotica motquitica teuhtli, tlaçolli, auh amo qualli ynjc iaz, inic miquiz, aço çan cana tetepacholoz, tetica uetziz, anoço, atocoz, atlan mjquja,

But even if, on the other hand,[1] he merited some reward, only for a miserable moment, only for a short time, a very short time, and frequently for a brief space, a moment, for a time only, would he partake of his riches.[2] So of him were said the words of the talkative inhabitants, that in the world there are bad days. Sometimes one succeeded; sometimes one failed; if, in his childhood, he should suffer

auh intla ça nóço itla jmaceoaltiz, çã conçpol, çan cuel achic, can cuecuel achic, çan achica, çan achitonca, çã achitzinca, çan inquich caujtl in, in jxpan onquiçaz in jnecujltonol, ic ipã mjtoa, in jntlatol tlalticpac tlatlatoanj, çan tatacapitz uel in tlalticpac, quẽman veli, quenman aveli, intla ipiltian motoliniz, quin itzonco in achi moiollaliz:

1. *Intla ça noço*: Wimmelfeli, *op. cit.*, has *esti* (although, yet) or *quanmele* (as you will) for *intlaça*, and *neçoc* (said not) for *noço*.

2. Corresponding Spanish text: "*y si algunas vezes davan vocados, tenjan poco tiempo, los gozavan el menjor tiempo, en los acabava la ventura.*"

Thirty-third Chapter, in which is mentioned the nineteenth sign, named One Eagle. It was said to be an evil day sign, and he who was then born was beautiful, and brave, daring, fearing nothing and no one. And it was said that the women also were daring, of ill fame, of evil tongue, shameless, and immodest. And it was said that at this time descended the lower Goddesses; and they did evil to the small children. Hence they did not let them go out of doors, nor did they bathe them at that time.[1]

—One Eagle. This One Eagle, it was said, was an evil day sign. Also at that time descended those named the "Goddesses." It was said, and it was so named, that they were only the youngest ones, only the shame,[2] who then came down. Nevertheless, [the people] took great fright, because it was said that they were very harmful, furious, hateful, hostile, and merciless. As they could not be resisted, so they made sport of people, as is told in various places and mentioned here and now. None of the small children might go naked. They were carefully watched, because at this time they might be violently possessed, their lips twisted and withered, their eyes crossed and cloudy, their noses crooked, etc.

And therefore they paid them great honor there in the places where they were awaited, there in the different Goddesses' temples. In each neighborhood, in the house clusters and their vicinities, reeds were strewn and scattered; sand was sprinkled on the roads and at street crossings and crossroads—places where roads came together.

One who made a vow to them that he would cover and wrap them, adorned their offerings, the paper banners of the Goddesses painted and spattered with liquid rubber. There he covered the different images of the Goddesses, as they were arranged in order. It was at midnight, just at the dividing of the night, that the making of offerings

Injc eſpoalli ſenatlactli vnnay capitulo: vncan moteneoa ynjc cxxtolli vnnavi machiotl, yn itoca ce quauhtli: quil amo qualli in tonalli, auh in ipan tlacatia, mochachamaoanj, yoā chicaoque, ainc ixco tlachia, atle ypan tlatta, atle ypā teitta: yoan quil in cihoa, amo tle ypā tlachia, yoan cenca tlavilquixtianj, tentlavelilloque, inquauhti, amo pinaoanj: auh quil yn iquac, oalxemoia yn aquique tepitoton cihoatetzu: auh quintlauelilaia in conetotonti, yc amo quinoalquixtiaia in quijauac, amono quimaltiaia yn iquac.

In ce quauhtli: ynjn ce quauhtli, mjtoa amo qualli tonalli, no vncan temoia, in quintocaiotia cihoatetzu, quilnach yn juh onmjtoa ça xoxocoio, ça teiccaoan yn vncan temoia, iece cenca vellamauhtiaia, ypampa quil cenca ihjioque, tlavelleque, tetlavelique, amo ellelceuhque, amo icnooaque, njman aixnamjquixtti, ynjc teca mauiltianj, yn juh onnjto quenquican: yn juh conitoa in iquac hin, njmā ainc vel perlauhtinenca in pipiltotōti, cenca malhujlcia, ypampa cenca tlaquauh vncan tetech quineoaia, tennecujlcoaia, tempatzicoaia, ixnecujlcoaia, ixcatzicoaia, iacanecuiloaia. etc.

auh injc cenca quinmauiztiliaia in vncan inchielpā yn iaquicī cicihoatecalco, in tlatlaxilacalpā, tetlatlaxilacalloc, tetlatlaxilacaltian, tleoltzetzelolo, tlatoltzetzelolo, tlaixalhujlo yn vtlica, yn vmaxac, yn inepanivjian vtli.

Jn aquin invicpa monecoltia: in quinquentia quiatlaquentia, quinchichivilia yn jmacxitheoal, in cihoatetuitl amatl, tlacolxaoalli, colpeiaoac, vmpa quimoquequentia yn inquiteme, tecpantoque, yn inixiptlaoan icoaloepantia, çan jc oxcellivi, iocalli im pena tlamanililo, auh iquac mocaoa yic nepantla tonatiuh, yic tlaqualixpā auh in aquin amo quiatlaquentia, çan

1. Corresponding Spanish text: "no les dexauan salir de casa, ni bañarse, al tiempo que eran dignas mugeres."

2. Tobmeier: see "Nineteenth sign 3 subsections," p. 212.

776 begun. And when it ceased, it was midday, when it
was already time to eat. And he who did not cover
●782 them only offered and arranged a little drink and
food, or white incense, or coarse incense. The youths,
the young untested warriors, the masters of the
youths,[3] the guardians there at the Goddesses'
temple, who watched and kept vigil for one night,
kept the food as a gift, took and appropriated it to
themselves.

And when silence fell, when at each place there
was a cessation of offerings, then forthwith began
the libations. Only in each person's home, each
person's house, was it done. No more did one pre-
tise restraint: no more were there inhibitions. They
made the old men and the old women drink and
poured out the wine for them. So there were tearful
greetings of one another and animation of one
another, etc.

X787 And it was said that he who was then born, was
perverted. If a man, he became a chieftain, a man-
at-arms, debauched, evil, and daring. Only his ex-
ploits, his chieftainship, did he relate and make
public. He considered that no one rejected him. He
pretended to excel others. He respected no one. He
wished others destroyed. He despised others. He
became presumptuous. And then, being of ungov-
ernable tongue, he interrupted people and belittled
the word of others, and scoffed and grumbled at
them. He rose up in rage; he constantly shook his
head; he interfered in others' affairs; he pretended
to know all; he praised himself. He pretended that
he spoke well and truthfully. He would not be out-
done in talk. He was vainglorious; he was a flatterer.
He pretended to be virtuous, but to see no virtue in
others. He belittled others' words. He contradicted,
denied, and twisted his own words. All his works,
all corresponded to him; he merited all; all indeed
became him: vices, drunkenness,[4] and corruption.
And sometimes, if he became neglectful, he was
captured and imprisoned, or died in battle, etc.

It was just the same if it were a woman. She was
truly of evil tongue, vile-mouthed, inhuman in
speech—big-mouthed, of biting words. Her great
joy, her great pleasure, was evil speaking. She was
one who vituperated others, who insulted and af-
fronted them. Like a dog, [she let] no one head her

ninti, tiquahuinti in ohuaxaia, in cuecuepania,
anoço itzac ocpalli, ocpalxalli, in tiquallí ichcá qui-
moveuia quimocalia, quimotlachia in telpopochti,
telpuchtequiuaque, yoan tiiiachcauh, in vmpa tlapix-
toque cihuatenculco, in vmpa cricoal oymoçoque,
otoçoque,

auh yn ocactiuetz, yn oncecacoaloc tlamanalo, ça
man ic peoa I tlatlatoaiuililo, ça techachan, ça tecacal-
itic yn muchioa, aocac ômmanati, aocmo onnenma-
macho, icholiti quiztlacuillia, quiztlatoaiuilia yn ve-
uetque, yn ilamatque, ic mochochoquiztiqualoa,
mellequaoa etc.

Auh nojoa yn aquin vncan tlacati, atlacacemelle,
itzla oquichtli, tiacauhti, oquichti, âquen tlatia,
âquen tlatlatia, aiac ixco tlachia, çan jioquichio, yti-
cauhio in conpopoa, yn jxco quimana, nimân aiac
quimotlaçaltoca, motepanuitoca, aiac de compoa,
mozpoloitoca, atle entepoa, cenca inmoquixtia, yoâ
nimâ ticnthcati, vel tepâpanoa, tepâpanoa, tetitiui-
via, tepoiquinana, mitteoa, moquequecuecuchoa,
motlilamachixtia, motlatlamachitoca, motlatlanix-
tia, mouevellatoltoca, moiecuiatoltoca, âmotzpana-
uillanj, momamachotla, temâmachotla, moiêcuioca,
ticiecuioca, mitpantlatoa, motlencuepa, tlatlatol-
cuepa, tlatlatolmalacachoa, much ychivil, much
quimopanjtia, much quimolhuiltia, much vel iuch
muchioa in tlatlatlilocaiotl, yn ehi injuiltitli, yn
auilquincaiotl, auh in quêman itzla otlachixtivitl vico,
calaquijlo, iconjquj etc.

Çan ic no inhcquj itzla cihuatl, vel tentlavelliloc,
camatlavelliloc, alaxtlacatl, temamacal, camatlato-
coa, cenca ipac, cenca ivelmach yn tentlatlilocaiotl,
vel tepapacuj, tenovijnotecuj, tepacoxtlacuj, inh-
quinma chichi aiac vel quijacxolinia, quijacopeinia,
yuhica itech onaci, nimâ quinlecaviniquiça, yeuh no-

3. Corresponding Spanish text: "los mejorcos, de aquellos mancebos".—Cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., Book II, "The Ceremonies," p. 142.
4. Ebriedad in the Real Palacio MS.

X 787 825 484 who had escaped from their hands, who pilfered, plundered, and robbed, would now wrest goods from their hands, and plunder, strip, sack, and rob them. Or somewhere, some of them might now faint and collapse, to be cast aside. Or they would be eaten by wild animals—the fare of brutes; they would become the game of wild beasts. Or somewhere they would be encircled by, and encounter, war.

tzinque, ie oovetzinque, ie oommomaxinjnque: aooc, ie oonequanoolaque, tequitlaquakin, tequanjme intlaqualhoan, ie oommochioaque: aoaye, cana inpan ie oalmotzaquex iaoiotl: ie oommomaxinjtzinque.

X 787 484 When this was so, he who was leader, who went commissioned leader, who proceeded as principal there along the road, then began to encourage them. He greeted his younger brethren with tears, his charges who were being taught. Along the way he instructed them and said to them:

In jquac yn, in aquin tachcauh, in tachcauhchiuhtiuh, in tachcauh icatiuh vtlipan, vncan peoa, in quixoclequaoa, in quixchoquixtlapaloa, inticcaoan, itlahcopavalvan: in vtli ipan quimittlamachtia, quimjlvia.

"Be of good cheer, O my sons, O my younger brothers. Of what profit is it that we are afflicted? Let no one be sad or heavy of heart. In truth for this we came: we came to die; so went our hearts heavy and foreboding. Thus we went from and left our homes and the houses of others:[4] our aunts, our uncles, our nephews, our elder sisters. For this reason they shed tears for us; they poured out upon us their weeping, their sorrow, that perhaps here, somewhere, on the desert, on the plains, in the gorge, in the forest, in various places will lie scattered our bones and our hair; in many places our blood, our redness, will spread, poured out and slippery. For in truth this hath been our reward. Let no one feel womanish in heart. Yield completely to death; pray to our lord. Let none think of or brood over [our condition]; for only later shall we know of whatsoever things[5] we may strike against. Then, in the end, we may weep for ourselves.

Ximellaquanacan, nopilhoane, noteiccaoane, quennel tiooolinja: macniac tlaocuja, nentlamati in jiollo, ca nel ic tioallaque, in timjqujco: ca iuh oalictia, iuh qujoalmattia in tsiollo: injc tiooalaoanjque, tiquallalotique in tonca, in teca: in tauj, in totla, in tomach, in tsueltiuh: ca ic injc techchoqujli, injc topan qujpino, in ichoquja, in jtlaocul: aço cana njcan, itlahoatl, atlauhtli itic, quavitl itic, cecenmaotoz in tsenjo: in totzon, nonoqujuhoaz, aalacatoz in tzaço, in totlapallo: ca nel otomaccoaltic, ma caiac qujciotlamachti in ijollo: xicmotlaquanmacacan in mjqujztli, xicmoclatlauhtilican in totecujo: ma caiac tle itic qujnemjti, qujlnamjquj: ma ça quin jc ticmatizque, in ça̧o tle itech titomotzonotivi: vncan ic oenmaian, tontechochoqujlinque:

"For truly, this is how we come giving honor[3] and luster to our lords, the merchants who lead, raising them to glory and lifting high their heads. Ere now they have gone knowing and marveling at such things. We are not then the first to discover and behold what will befall us. Strengthen your hearts, O my sons!"

ca nel ichoatl injc tiquinteiotico, tiqujmjtauhcaiotico, tiqujnoonaleoaco, tiqujncnoteoonacocujco intotechiuhcaoan, in puchteca, in jiaque: ca ieeppa iuh quimattivi, iuh qujnauiçotiuj, camo quin tehoan iancujcan ie tooonnemjtzque, ie tooonjtaque, in tlein topan tauchioaz: ximellaquanacan, nopilhoane.

X 787 484 ● 782 And if somewhere night fell, they gathered, joined, crowded, and assembled themselves somewhere at the foot of a tree or the opening of a gorge,

Auh intla cana oimpan ioac, cana quaujtl ixnintlan, aoaço atlauhcamac, oammololoa, oammoccemololoa, oammoteperuhtitlalia, momechioa, qujcujtlalpin, quj-

4. Probably *tonan* and *tota* are to read *toual* and *tual*. In Bernardino de Sahagún, "Manuscrito no 3 colocense," *Historia de las cosas de Nueva España* (Francisco del Paso y Troncoso, ed.; Madrid: Hauser y Menet, 1938), Vol. VII, p. 398, the phrase is *yn tonan, yn tota*. The corresponding Spanish text reads: *"quando partimos de nuestros amos."*

5. "Manuscrito no 3 colocense," p. 391, *other in yaqui dic*, [illegible] *in yaqui dic*.

6. *In loc. cit.*, it is *tlapaltepuztica*.

and bound and tied, fastened together, and placed on the ground, all their staves, which represented their god Yiacatecutli. Here, before him, they did penance, bled themselves, cut their ears, and drew straws through them; so they only yielded to whatsoever might befall them. But no one worried or speculated whether it might befall them as the white hooded hawk had foreboded to them.

And perhaps they quite escaped, [or] perchance nothing happened to them who were then terrified when the time of their fright had occurred. If nothing befell them, their hearts were therefore again a little lifted; they raised their heads and revived their spirits; for their fates were so established that fear should no longer be with them.

But the fearful ones, the younger brothers who were not of firm fortune, not of rugged day signs, when they learned of [the omen], went fearing it. No longer were they happy; they talked no more — no longer did they speak aloud; nowhere were their hearts content. Things only worsened as they traveled; they only went engraving on their minds whatever they imagined. No longer with calm, but vainly, did they a little way follow the land; rather, they thought that perchance soon they would somewhere come upon what in truth meant the omen which had occurred and by which they had been frightened.

It hath already been said, nevertheless, that no one knew whether, indeed, it would be verified, or would not be so. For its words were understood, since it spoke in two [ways], to be good and evil.

ceneujtlalpia, quiçemjlpia, quiçemmana in jntopil, in jpan quiaxoaia in intecuh: Yiacatecutli. Vncan ipan tlamacroa, mjço, monacaztequj, tlacoqujatia, ça quimocemmacatoque, in tlein ipan, ie oommuchioaz: auh aocac ontlamati, aocac itlamatia, intla iuhquj ipan muchioa, in juhquj ic oquintetzauj cactli. 787x 484 782

Auh aneçe çan maçujça, acaço tle ipan muchioa: in vncan in nemauhtiaia, in jonmaujzcujian omochiuhca. Intla catle ipan omochiuh, ic oc ceppa achitzin, oalmoiolizcalia: oalquetza onmoquaahiouja: ic ommotonallalilia: injc intech oacca maujztli: 787x 484

auh in mauhcatlaz tzniccaoa, in amo tonalchicaoaque, in amo tonallapaliuj: ça ie in quimattiuj, in quimamattiuj: aocmo pequj, aocmo tlatoa, aocmo naoati, aoccan aujia in jiollo: ça tlanauhtiuj, in nenemj, ça imjtic tlacujcujiotiuj, in tleinmach quilnamiquj: aiocmo iujian, in oc nen achi quitoca tlalli: ça ie in quimati, aço quin cana in ie commonamjctiaque, in tlein vel quitoznequj, intetzauh omuchiuh: injc omotetzaujque.

Ie omjto, tel aiac quimati, in aço vel neltiz: in acanoçomo, ca itlatol itech mocaquj: injc ome vitz quitoa, qualli ioan amo qualli.

[Pg 156 is blank]